

The
American Historical Review

NATIONALITY AND HISTORY¹

IN the number of the *Contemporary Review* of London for July, 1887 (pp. 107-121), there appeared a short article on "Modern Historians and their Influence on Small Nationalities". After more than twenty-eight years, the writer of that article, greatly honored by election to the presidency of the American Historical Association, takes up the larger and more general topic of "Nationality and History" as the subject of his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Association. Throughout those twenty-eight years his thoughts have dwelt upon the influences which prevent the clear, accurate, and truthful statement of what has happened in the past; as student and teacher of history he has come to realize more and more the futility of pretended impartiality; and at the last he has yielded to the conviction that the first duty of the historical scholar is to grasp the fact that his limitations as a human being must ever debar him, even if the most complete material lies ready to his hand, from attempting more than a personal interpretation of some part or period of the past.

Every generation writes its own history of the past. It is not so much the acquisition or mastery of new material as the changing attitude of each generation that causes the perpetual re-writing of the long story of man living in community with his fellow-men. Each generation looks at the past from a different angle, and the historian is inevitably controlled by the spirit of his age. Every historian is unconsciously biased by his education and surroundings and in his historical works displays not only his interpretation of the past, but also the point of view of the period in which he lives. Honestly, under the inspiration of the truth-lovers of his time, whether they be bold thinkers or ardent men of science, the writer of history tries to discover and tell the truth, the whole truth, and

¹ Presidential address read before the American Historical Association, at Washington, December 28, 1915.

nothing but the truth. But, in his heart of hearts, if he be not a self-deceived fanatic, he knows well that he cannot free himself from his human limitations, and that his work, whether it be in research, in narration, or in interpretation, can only approximate the truth. To understand the writings of any historian, we of to-day know that our first duty is to study his personality and the point of view of his age. We no longer believe in the veracity of Thucydides or Tacitus; we know that the great Athenian colored his facts to make a dramatic story, and that the great Roman satirist and rhetorician was of the race of pamphleteers, more intent to score the failings of the rulers of a past generation and to insinuate their shortcomings than to recognize the way in which the early Roman emperors and their imperial system maintained the peace and order of the Mediterranean world. Since Clio was reckoned among the Muses, the Greeks regarded history as a branch of imaginative literature, demanding artistic presentation, and this idea was not dissipated until the eighteenth century. It was part of the business of an historian to assert his impartiality and to declare that his duty was to discover and tell the truth, but his work as an historian was not judged by his truthfulness and impartiality but by his literary skill. All students of history know Lucian's inimitable "The Way to write History", and how the witty Syrian declares that "the historian's one task is to tell the thing as it happened",² but they also recollect that his whole essay is concerned rather with the way in which the story is to be told than with the method by which truth and impartiality are to be attained. The example of the classical writers of Greece and Rome was supreme until the eighteenth century, and the protestations of truth-seeking and truth-telling were invariably followed by histories that exhibited either the personal views of the writer with regard to the past, or at the very least the influence of the age in which he lived.

It is curious to-day to read these protestations of impartiality and truth-seeking, which form the opening passages or prefaces of nearly all histories written in ancient, medieval, and modern times. They are perfectly honest protestations, for most historians intended to tell the truth and were convinced that they had discovered and interpreted it. But "Methinks they do protest too much", and the very fact that they felt it necessary to protest at all reveals that at the back of their hearts lingered a doubt as to whether they would be implicitly believed, just as the skilled liar or romancer feels it necessary to preface his best stories with the remark: "I am going to tell

² *The Works of Lucian of Samosata* (translated by H. W. Fowler and E. G. Fowler, Oxford, 1905), II. 128.

the exact truth." Unswerving faith in Christianity formed the basis of the knowledge and the narratives of the medieval writers; even the scepticism of the Renaissance accepted the assumptions of the ancient historians of Greece and Rome; and the historical controversialists of the period of the Protestant Reformation were firmly convinced that their religious views were correct and interpreted the past in the light of their particular beliefs. We smile to-day at the legends in which our predecessors so firmly believed, and each generation sets up a new conception of the characteristics of the past, which it thinks justifies its smiles. The great historians of the eighteenth century, Gibbon, for instance, and Voltaire, were quite as certain that they understood the past correctly as Orosius and Bossuet, and regarded themselves as leading the world to the truth on the basis of pure rationalism as their predecessors on the basis of accepted Christianity.

Just as the believers and sceptics in revealed religion thought that they possessed the key to the right understanding of the past and sought the justification of their beliefs and unbeliefs in their interpretation of past happenings, so all political historians honestly believed in the all-importance of politics and expounded their own political theories and convictions in their narratives of events. "History is past politics", cried Professor Freeman of Oxford, "and politics is present history", and Professor Thomas Arnold, also of Oxford, declared that "the historian must be a good party man", showing the naïve idea that politics, and even a particular brand of politics, has been the only real force in the building of civilization. In this they had good warrant from the ancient classical historians whose works they knew so well and whose example had so deeply impressed them. The recurrence to a perverted and inaccurate view of the past as a source for political arguments in the present was no more extraordinary than the previous appeal to a perverted and inaccurate view of the past as a justification for any variety of religious faith or ecclesiastical organization.

This brings me to the actual subject of this address. The belief in nationality has been in the nineteenth century as fundamental a doctrine as the belief in Christianity or in monarchy or democracy or aristocracy in previous ages. Just as a fervent belief in Christianity, based upon history and dogmatic theology, led to a belief in the righteousness of slaying Mohammedans in the period of the Crusades; just as a fervent belief in Catholicism or Lutheranism or Calvinism, based upon history and dogmatic theology, was held to justify religious persecution and the religious wars of the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries in Europe; just as a fervent belief in different political theories led, in part at least, to the civil wars in England in the seventeenth century and in the United States of America in the nineteenth century; so a fervent belief in the doctrine of nationality has led to enmity between nations in the nineteenth century. Historians had their share in creating and justifying the fervor of religious and political beliefs in the past; they have had their share also in creating and maintaining the national fanaticism of the present. Being men and not machines, they have felt the spirit of their times and expressed it. When Pope Urban II. preached the Crusade against Islam at Clermont, he spoke in all honesty and roused Latin Christendom with his eloquence, though the fundamental intolerance of Christian and Mohammedan against each other had long been felt; and the nationalist historians of the nineteenth century, though merely voicing the feelings of their contemporaries, must bear their share of the responsibility of setting the nations of the world against each other.

This is not the place to examine the history of the doctrine of nationality in minute detail. Nationality has been regarded as the legitimate and natural outcome of family, tribal, and racial organization; it has also been declared to be the result of neighborhood feeling. To some theorists, the chief bond of nationality appears to be that of a common language, which is obviously contradicted by the intense patriotism of the Swiss nation; to others the bond of race unity seems most attractive, in spite of the denial by the ethnologists that there is any such thing as a pure race; while to others again the most effective definition seems to be that of a common historic tradition, which binds together into one historic community people of different races and different languages. What is certain is that there is a radical contrast between historians like Gibbon, who looked upon the Roman Empire of the second century A. D., with its unity of administration in spite of the diversity of population, as the ideal of civilization, and writers like Stewart Chamberlain, who regard nationality in general, and one nationality in particular, as the greatest possible force making for human progress. In the later Middle Ages, the word "nation" seems to have been more especially used in the matter of university organization than as marking political or racial differences. Martin Luther, it is true, made his "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" in 1520, but even in his time the ruling idea was rather the unity of Western European civilization than its diversity among different nations. While the consciousness of national patriotism emerges especially in Spain,

France, and England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the tendency of the eighteenth century was in the opposite direction. States were regarded as the political units rather than nations, and the changing of the control of Italy and the Catholic Netherlands, and, above all, the partitions of Poland marked the indifference generally felt towards the idea of nationality. Civilization was held to be European, not national; literature and science were cultivated in common by the scholars of different states; universal histories were in more favor than national histories; and Goethe could declare aloud that "above the nations was humanity".

All this changed with the French Revolution. Feeling itself at issue with the states of Europe, revolutionary France appealed to the pride of national patriotism. The first years of the Revolution and the Constitution of 1791 had abolished the old French provinces with their varying history, their different laws, their local institutions, and their provincial customs, and with the establishment on September 21, 1792, of the French Republic, "one and indivisible", a new national France was born. National fanaticism brought nearly all Frenchmen fit for war under arms, and the triumph of republican France over all her foes justified the principle of nationality in the eyes of Frenchmen. But not satisfied with the success of the national defense, republican France became aggressive. Having successfully defended herself, she now began to interfere with the national rights of others. Under the leadership of an Italian general, a professional army was developed from the army of national defense and the meteoric career of General and then First Consul Bonaparte culminated in his coronation as the Emperor Napoleon on December 2, 1804. Napoleon was a typical eighteenth-century thinker; he was an Italian with the cosmopolitan views of the Italians, who were accustomed to regard themselves as Florentines, or Venetians, or Neapolitans, and who had made no particular objections to being governed in their different states by Spanish or Hapsburg princes; he regarded Europe as a unit, which should not be divided into warring and hostile states, but benevolently administered according to the ideals of the enlightened despots; and since he was himself a man without a country, he had no sympathy with the ideas of nationality. The Napoleonic army was his army, and not a national French army; the Napoleonic empire was a European empire, and, as Professor Driault has pointed out, he had it in mind, if he had been successful in his Russian campaign, to move the capital of his dominions to Rome and there renew the glories of the ancient Roman Empire.

The cosmopolitan ideas of the statesmen and historians of the eighteenth century had their effect upon the political theories of Napoleon. Gibbon and the writers of universal history had dwelt upon the services rendered to European humanity by the unity of the Roman Empire and the extension of the Pax Romana, and had regarded its break-up as the beginning of barbarism. Consciously carrying out the spirit of his century Napoleon deliberately hoped and planned in his empire to restore the glorious peace of the days of Trajan and Hadrian and the Antonines.

Against these grandiose ideas, the Europe of the political sovereign states could not successfully contend. The Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns alike went down before the Napoleonic army. The princes of central Europe bowed the knee to the conqueror, who redistributed their states and made new kings and new states in the old high-handed imperial fashion of ancient Rome. Napoleon carried all before him until he came into conflict with the national idea, which had saved republican France and which he never understood. First in Britain arose a burst of national patriotism under the threat of invasion from the camp at Boulogne; the navy became the national service; Nelson became the national hero; national volunteers were raised and drilled for national defense; Tom Dibdin wrote his sea-songs; and Wordsworth in a series of splendid sonnets expressed the fullness of the national idea. From the divided country of the War of American Independence, from the unwilling opponent of republican France, governed by Pitt's coercion acts, with an army recruited from the jails and the poor-houses and a mutinous navy manned by the press-gang, arose a united and patriotic nation. Then came the insurrection of the Spaniards and the Portuguese against the interference of Napoleon and the assertion of their national spirit against foreign invasion. Some Frenchmen, notably Talleyrand, understood the writing on the wall, but not Napoleon. Secure in his belief in European imperialism, he refused to modify his ideas. The bitter opposition of the Tyrolese under Andreas Hofer in 1809 might have taught him that even central Europe would not submit permanently to Napoleonic control; the Duke of Brunswick and the gallant Schill might have warned him that even the Germans might resist; but convinced of the validity of his theory of empire and the grandeur of his aims he persisted in his policy. The invasion of Russia in 1812 was the beginning of the end; though hardly a century had elapsed since Peter the Great turned Muscovy into Russia and spread the boundary of Europe to the Ural Mountains, a Russian national spirit

showed itself and the Napoleonic Grand Army vanished in the snow and frost. The following year witnessed the uprising of Germany. Inspired by Prussian valor and organization, by the propaganda of such German enthusiasts as Vater Jahn, by such poems as Arndt's "The German Fatherland" and Körner's "Song of the Sword", a German national patriotism revealed itself, and a German nation did what Hapsburg and Hohenzollern had failed to do and ended Napoleonic imperialism. France refused to rise in her national might to support the adventurer, who had used her national armies to found his European empire, and the Napoleonic Empire came to an end. Nationalism had triumphantly asserted itself and the idea and the doctrine of nationality had been born.

When the diplomatists of Europe re-made the map of Europe under the guidance of Metternich in the Congress of Vienna, they showed themselves absolutely opposed to the doctrine of nationality. They united the Protestant and the Catholic Netherlands despite the difference of the prevailing religions and the historic separation of the two states; they sanctioned the union of Sweden and Norway; they refused to restore Poland, where Napoleon had, and there alone, aroused hopes of the recognition of national independence; they re-divided Italy into states ruled by foreign princes and gave to the Hapsburgs both Lombardy and Venetia; and they paid no attention to the demand for a united Germany. The inevitable result was to be seen in the insurrections in Belgium and Poland in 1830 and in the various national demonstrations in Italy and Germany, which preceded and succeeded them. Far more important was the Revolution of July, 1830, in France, which in its overthrow of Charles X. opened the way to the free expression of political thought in the country which was still intellectual leader of western Europe.

The rise of the principle of nationality during the Napoleonic period had been mainly marked by the poets, of whom Wordsworth in England and Arndt in Germany were the most typical, for the years of actual conflict were not favorable to historical study, or, indeed, to studies of any kind. But when peace had been restored, the nationalist point of view, which was to control the minds of men throughout the nineteenth century, began to influence both historical research and historical writing. As early as 1816 the great German statesman, Stein, who had been the chief German exponent of the German national idea in the German resistance to the Napoleonic Empire, had conceived the idea of quickening the taste for German history; in 1819 the Society for the Study of Early German History was founded; in 1824 the definite plan for the

publication of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* was promulgated; and in 1826 the first volume of the series appeared.³ But it was not until after the Revolution of 1830 that important national histories began to be written. In them the influence of the Romantic Movement and more particularly of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels can be seen in picturesqueness of literary style and the attention paid to dramatic episodes and individual personalities, but through them all runs the desire to bring out the persistence of the national element. Nowhere can this be more clearly seen than in Henri Martin's *Histoire de France*, of which the first edition appeared in 1838-1853. The aim of Martin is to show that the French nation has always preserved its identity in spite of its adoption of the Latin language under the Roman Empire to the almost complete extinction of its original Celtic tongue and in spite of the conquest by the Franks, which gave the land its modern name. Through such radical changes, Martin declares that a national character, illustrated in the *esprit gaulois*, persisted and that the settlement within its borders of German Franks and Scandinavian Northmen had not affected the national identity of the people of France. The key to French national history is, according to Martin, to be found in the continuance of Celtic ideas and Celtic characteristics. Augustin Thierry had gone a step further and in his *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, published in 1825, had rejoiced in the victory of France over England at Hastings as if it had been a battle between the nations that had fought at Waterloo. Jules Michelet, in his *Histoire de France*, published in 1836-1843, was almost dithyrambic in his portraiture of the French nation, which had become to him a personal hero. Nor should the name of Guizot be forgotten, for his services to the national history of France included not only his *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, published in 1828-1830, but also his foundation of the Société de l'Histoire de France in 1832 and his commencement of the publication by the French government in 1833 of the *Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France*.

But, after all, the nationalistic tendency of French historians under the monarchy of July did not have a great political effect nor tend to change the condition of Europe. France had shown her glowing national spirit in the days of the Reign of Terror, and her nationalistic historians only worked to emphasize with some exaggeration the antiquity of the existence of such a spirit. It was otherwise in Germany and Italy. There the problem of the nationalist historians was to show that in spite of ancient political

³ Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (1913), p. 65.

divisions there had always been a German nation and an Italian nation. This is not an address on historiography or a summary of the growth of the effect of the national spirit in creating the modern German Empire or the modern Italian Kingdom. Bismarck is reported to have said that next to the Prussian army, it was the German professors of history who had done the most to create the new Germany under the hegemony of Prussia. The views set forth by the long list of eminent German historians from Dahlmann through Droysen and Sybel to Treitschke dwelt upon the historic unity of the German people and argued for the creation of the united German state, which had been foreshadowed in the united German movement against the Napoleonic Empire. Before 1848 the tendency of some German historians, especially in the south and west, was to promote a Germany which should have its main political centre between the Rhine and the Elbe and it is not without significance that the German Parliament of 1848, which was largely called together through the influence of professors, should have met at Frankfort; but the failure of the revolutionary movement of 1848 opened the way for union under the leadership of Prussia. The passionate nationalism of the new Germany was shown in its annexation of Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace-Lorraine, which were both claimed by the new Germany upon historic as well as upon linguistic and racial grounds, and is seen in the demands made for the inclusion in the German Empire of all territory in which the German language is spoken and that was once a part of the old Holy Roman Empire.

In Italy the movement of the Risorgimento was reflected in historical works as well as in poetry and romance, and in no work more typically than in Botta's *Storia dell' Italia*, intended as a continuation of Guicciardini and published in 1834.

In states that had long possessed national unity, there could not be any political result of the doctrine of nationality. There could only be, as in France, a deepening of the sense of national patriotism and a conviction that national unity should be an article of political faith, which implied the antagonism of every nation to every other nation. England waited long for its national historian. Although many English historians were fanatically nationalistic and supremely insular in their conviction of the superiority of their own over every other nation, it was not until 1874, when J. R. Green published his *Short History of the English People*, that a modern nationalist historian, with intent to insist, like Michelet, upon the personality of the nation, and to exaggerate, like Martin, the antiquity of national

unity, actually appeared. The immediate success of Green's book was not only the result of its extraordinary literary merit, but also of its expression of a national feeling, which had been steadily growing in intensity. Don Modesto Lafuente in his *Historia de España*, published between 1850 and 1867, has attempted a task for Spain resembling that undertaken for France by Henri Martin, but with hardly the same success. It would be ungracious in this presence to deal at any length with American nationalist historians, further than to point out that two former presidents of this Association, James Schouler, whose *History of the United States under the Constitution* was mostly published between 1880 and 1889, and John Bach McMaster, whose *History of the People of the United States* appeared from 1883 to 1914, show themselves to be inspired with the highest national and patriotic enthusiasm. It is curious to note that such nationalist histories as those of Green and Schouler and McMaster did not see the light until after the doctrine of nationalism had found its fullest expression in Europe in the foundation of the German Empire and the Kingdom of Italy.

But the most interesting phenomenon in the rise of the doctrine of nationality in the nineteenth century has been the revival of small nationalities. It is easy to understand how such great nations as France, England, and Spain caught the new spirit; it is easy to understand how the new national units like Italy and Germany were urged towards consolidation by historic national feeling; but it is not so easy to explain how small nationalities, that had been submerged, sometimes for centuries, and that had been trampled upon by their larger neighbors, responded to the new movement. Here the modern historian triumphed. He recalled to the smaller and submerged peoples the traditions of their former sovereign independence and stimulated their sense of nationality in the present by dwelling upon their glorious past.

This was the side of the question that was dealt with by your president in the article he published in 1887 upon "Great Historians and their Influence upon Small Nationalities". He had been invited to write the article upon Portugal in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and on that account had been led to the study of the Portuguese historical writers. He found one Portuguese historian towering above the others, the recognized founder of the modern historical school of Portugal. He perceived that it was the revival of interest in the glorious past of Portugal, as shown in the writings of her poets and historians of the nineteenth century, that had killed the Iberianist idea of the political union of Spain and

Portugal, and this led him to inquire if the same was true of other small nationalities of Europe, which had been united and famous in the past. The truth was evident, and the article of 1887 was the result. After sketching the work of Alexandre Herculano de Carvalho e Araujo, whose *Historia de Portugal* was published in 1845-1850 and who started the series of national documents known as the *Portugalliae Monumenta Historica*, the writer dealt with Franz Palacký, whose *Geschichte Böhmens* appeared between 1836 and 1854, and who reminded the Czech population of Bohemia of the glorious days of Huss and Ziska. The result of Palacký's work was to stimulate the consciousness of Bohemian nationality, which had revived again in the nineteenth century after more than one hundred and fifty years of severe repression at the hands of the Hapsburg government. It would take too long here to cover again the ground occupied by the article of 1887. It is enough to state that the establishment of Rumania as a sovereign state was preceded by the revival of the study of Rumanian history, culminating in the great work of Alexandru Xenopol, *L'Histoire des Roumains de la Dacie Trajane*. In Finland and in Poland and in Croatia, in Sweden and in Denmark, and above all in Belgium, profound and passionate historical studies were published and the creation of a national spirit was even more pronounced, if that were possible, in these small states, that especially cherished the memory of their past, than in larger countries, which had a powerful present as well as a splendid past.

This brief account of nationalist historians of the nineteenth century and of their work in promoting the idea and consciousness of nationality leads back to the opening note of this address. Since the spirit of nationality was in the air they yielded to it. To them the fundamental righteousness of the national idea was as clear as the truth of the Christian religion was to the chroniclers of the Middle Ages. They did not argue about it, for it needed no arguments; they felt and expressed their feelings. From them and from their writings, which supported the instinctive cry of national poets and the careful policy of nationalist statesmen by appeals to the past, comes the conviction that nations are the only bases of progress in civilization, and that every nation owes it to the world to extend, by force if necessary, its particular brand of civilization to alien and therefore inferior peoples. National patriotism became the national creed. It filtered through the entire educational system of modern states. However excellent patriotism may be in itself, it has had some startling effects when based upon nationalist histories. The

idea of a common Christianity binding all Christian peoples together in one religion has disappeared; the belief in the brotherhood of man has had no chance. Americans are taught from childhood to hate Britishers by the study of American history, and not only the descendants of the men who made the Revolution, but every newly arrived immigrant child imbibes the hatred of the Great Britain of to-day from the patriotic ceremonies of the public schools. Germans were taught to hate Frenchmen by the study of German history, and the reply made by Ranke to Thiers in 1871, when the French historian visited Berlin after the overthrow of Napoleon III., and asked why the Germans were bent upon continuing the war with France, was the simple truth that "The Germans were fighting against Louis XIV." Hymns of hate are the inevitable outcome of national patriotism based upon national histories. Family blood-feuds, the vendettas of the Corsicans and the Kentucky mountaineers, are considered proofs of a backward civilization, but national hatreds are encouraged as manifestations of national patriotism.

Nationalist historians must bear their share of blame for this, but, as was said at the beginning of this address, every generation writes its own history of the past. The historian is influenced by the prevailing spirit of his age, and he feeds the spirit of national intolerance to-day as his predecessors fed the flames of religious intolerance in days gone by. Woe unto us! professional historians, professional historical students, professional teachers of history, if we cannot see, written in blood, in the dying civilization of Europe, the dreadful result of exaggerated nationalism as set forth in the patriotic histories of some of the most eloquent historians of the nineteenth century. May we not hope that this will be but a passing phase of historical writing, since its awful sequel is so plainly exhibited before us, and may we not expect that the historians of the twentieth century may seek rather to explain the nations of the world to each other in their various contributions to the progress of civilization and to bear ever in mind the magnificent sentiment of Goethe: "Above the nations is humanity".

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

THE TRUE ROGER BACON, I.

"MONOGRAPHS or studies concerning Bacon are numerous, perhaps too numerous", says a recent French writer.¹ Indeed, his *Opus Maius* has been analyzed and paraphrased so often that one marvels that all the juice has not been squeezed out of the orange. Not only his general philosophy, but his contributions to certain particular subjects have been repeatedly treated.² But the French writer goes on to say that in many of the monographs Bacon is misunderstood and misinterpreted, and that they must be read with the greatest caution. Also the catalogue of Bacon's works and fragments has been added to by recent discoveries.³ Thirdly, there are aspects of his learning which have hitherto not received special or proper treatment, namely, the astrology and magic to which he gives so much space and emphasis and which so seriously affect all his thought, but which probably did not affect his life and the attitude of his contemporaries to him in the way that so many have assumed. Finally, Bacon has been studied too much in isolation. He has been regarded as an exceptional individual; his environment has been estimated at his own valuation of it or according to some preconceived idea of his age; and his writings have not been studied in relation to those of his predecessors and contemporaries. Thought of as a precursor of modern science, he has been read to find germs of modern ideas rather than scrutinized with a view to discovering his sources. Yet his constant citing of authorities and the helpful foot-notes which Bridges, in his edition of the *Opus Maius*,⁴ gives to explain these allusions to other scientists, point insistently in the latter direction. When one has gone a step

¹ G. Delorme in Vacant and Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1910), II. 31. For bibliography of writings on Bacon see also the article "Roger Bacon" by Theophilus Witzel in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

² For example, Cardinal Gasquet opens his contribution to the collection of essays written in commemoration of the seventh centenary of Roger's birth by saying frankly: "The work of Roger Bacon in regard to the Vulgate is well known. His opinions as to the state of the text in the ordinary Bibles of the thirteenth century, and his suggestions as to the principles which should regulate any revision have been frequently set forth by those interested in the history of the Latin Vulgate, whilst many modern writers . . . have written specially upon this subject. Little therefore remains to be done but to follow in their footsteps." *Roger Bacon Essays* (collected and edited by A. G. Little, Oxford, 1914), p. 89. This will henceforth be cited as Little, *Essays*. I have reviewed this book in the *American Historical Review*, XX. 386-388.

³ The latest bibliography of Bacon's writings is contained in Little, *Essays*, pp. 376-425.

⁴ The *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon (ed. J. H. Bridges, Oxford, 1897, and a third volume in 1900). This will henceforth be cited as Bridges.

further and has read for their own sake the works of men like Adelard of Bath, William of Conches, and Daniel Morlay in the twelfth century, or William of Auvergne, Robert Grosseteste and Albertus Magnus in the early and middle thirteenth century, the true position of Roger Bacon in the history of thought grows clearer. One then re-reads his works with a new insight, finds that a different interpretation may be put upon many a passage, and realizes that even in his most boastful moments Roger himself never made such claims to astounding originality as some modern writers have made for him. Conversely, one is impelled to the conclusion that Bacon's writings, instead of being unpalatable to, neglected by, and far in advance of, his times, give a most valuable picture of medieval thought, summarizing, it is true, its most advanced stages, but also including much that is most characteristic, and even revealing some of its back currents. It is from this standpoint that we shall consider Roger Bacon and endeavor to refute misconceptions that have grown up concerning his life and learning.

Past estimates of Bacon's learning have been greatly affected by their holders' views of his life; but his biography is gradually being shorn of fictions and losing that sensational and exceptional character which gave countenance to the representation of his thought as far in advance of his age. We cannot tell to which of several families of Bacons mentioned in feudal registers and other documents of the times he belonged, and the exact date and place of his birth are uncertain.⁵ But he speaks of England as his native land, and in 1267 looks back upon a past of some forty years of study and twenty years of specialization in his favorite branches of learning.⁶ Also he speaks of one brother as rich, of another as a student, and of his family's suffering exile for their support of Henry III. against the barons.⁷ He implies that up to 1267 he had not been outside France and England,⁸ but he had sent across the

⁵ Charles Jourdain, "Discussion de Quelques Points de la Biographie de Roger Bacon", in his *Excursions Historiques et Philosophiques à travers le Moyen Age*, pp. 131-145.

⁶ See pages 65 and 59 of *Fr. Rogeri Bacon, Opera quaedam hactenus inedita* (ed. J. S. Brewer, London, 1859), in vol. XV. of *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (Rolls Series)*. This will henceforth be cited as Brewer. The volume includes part of Bacon's *Opus Tertium*, part of the *Opus Minus*, part of the *Compendium Philosophiae*, and the *Epistola de Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturae, et de Nullitate Magiae*.

⁷ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 16 and 13; see also, Rev. F. A. Gasquet, "An Unpublished Fragment of a Work by Roger Bacon", in the *English Historical Review*, XII. 502. This latter article will henceforth be cited as Gasquet. This fragment published by Gasquet is evidently the first part of the *Opus Minus*.

⁸ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, p. 318. If however we accept as a genuine work of Bacon the letter on retarding the accidents of old age which he is supposed to have sent to Pope Innocent IV. (1243-1254), we shall have to admit that he had been "in partibus Romanis". See Little, *Essays*, pp. 4 and 399.

seas for material to assist his special investigations and had spent large sums of money.⁹

Before he became a friar he had written text-books for students, and had worked so hard that men wondered that he still lived. When or why he joined the Franciscans we are not informed, but his doing so is no cause for wonder, for both orders were rich in learned men, including students of natural science. Bacon tells us that after becoming a friar he was able to study as much as before, but "did not work so much", probably because he now had less teaching to do. For about ten years before 1267, instead of being imprisoned and ill treated by his order, as was once believed without foundation, he was, as we now know from his own words discovered in 1897, in poor health and "took no part in the outward affairs of the university". This abstention caused the report to spread that he was devoting all his time to writing, especially since many were aware that he had long intended to sum up his knowledge in a *magnum opus*, but he actually "composed nothing except a few chapters, now about one science and now about another, compiled in odd moments at the instance of friends". At least this is what he told the pope in 1267 when trying to excuse himself for having had no completed work ready to submit to the supreme pontiff.¹⁰

R. H. Major's *Prince Henry the Navigator*¹¹ is responsible for the spread of the story that in 1258 Brunetto Latini saw Friar Bacon at the Parliament at Oxford and was shown by him the secret of the magnetic needle, which Roger dared not divulge for fear of being accused of magic. The supposed letter of Brunetto Latini to the poet Guido Cavalcanti, from which these data are drawn, seems to have been a hoax or fanciful production appearing first in 1802 in the *Monthly Magazine*¹² among "Extracts from the Portfolio of a Man of Letters", who is said to have translated them from "the French patois of the Romansch language". Certainly the mariner's compass was pretty well known in Bacon's time, nor are we informed of any case where it involved its possessor in a trial for magic. Bacon says in one passage that if the experiment of the magnet with respect to iron "were not known to the world, it would seem a great miracle".¹³ In another place he grants that even the common herd of philosophers know of the magnetic needle; he merely criticizes their belief that the needle always turns towards

⁹ Gasquet, p. 502.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 500, and *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 65.

¹¹ Brewer, p. 58.

¹² *The Monthly Magazine or British Register*, XIII. 449.

¹³ Bridges, II. 218.

the north star; Roger thinks that it can be made to turn to any other point of the compass if only it has been properly magnetized.¹⁴ Perhaps the Latini story was suggested by a third passage, where Bacon says, in order to illustrate his statement that philosophers have sometimes resorted to charms and incantations to hide their secrets from the unworthy, "As if, for instance, it were quite unknown that the magnetic needle attracts iron and someone wishing to perform this operation before the people should make characters and utter incantations, so that they might not see that the operation of attraction was entirely natural".¹⁵

Bacon's career centres about a papal mandate which was despatched to him in the summer of 1266. Guy de Foulques, who became Clement IV. on February 5, 1265, had at some previous time requested Bacon to send him the *scriptum principale* or comprehensive work on philosophy which he had been led to think was already written.¹⁶ On June 22, 1266, he repeated this request in the form of a papal mandate, which is extant.¹⁷ The former letter is lost, but both Bacon and the pope refer to it.¹⁸ Somehow writers on Bacon have paid little heed to this first request, have assumed that Bacon wrote his three works to the pope in about a year¹⁹ despite the "impediments" upon which he dwells, and have therefore been filled with admiration at the superhuman genius which could produce such works at such short notice while laboring under such difficulties.²⁰ But this is assuming that Roger had done nothing in the considerable interval between the two mandates.

¹⁴ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, pp. 383-384.

¹⁵ *Epistola de Secretis Operibus Artis*, Brewer, p. 525.

¹⁶ Gasquet, p. 511: "Scripto principali, quod vestra postulat reverentia". *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 58: "Propter vestrae gloriae mandatum, de quo confundor et doleo quod non adimplevi sub forma verborum vestrorum, ut scriptum philosophiae mitterem principale." Also p. 18.

¹⁷ Brewer, p. 1; Bridges, I. 1-2, note; Wadding, *Annal. Minor.*, IV. 265; Martene, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, II. 358.

¹⁸ Brewer, p. 1: "Opus illud quod te dilecto filio Raymundo de Landuno communicare rogavimus in minori officio constituti." *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 14: Bacon says that Albert and William of Shyrwood could not send the pope what he has written, "infra tantum tempus . . . a vestro mandato; et sicut nec ab ultimo, sic nec a primo". Gasquet, p. 500: "Sed licet pleno desiderio quod iniunctum est complere pro posse meo sim teste Deo paratissimus, cum quoniam in minori officio constituti postulastis non fuerunt composita quae iussistis" and "utrumque mandatum" and "antequam primum vestre dominationis recepi mandatum." The following sentence (*Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 13) also seems to refer to the former mandate, despite the "ultimo", "Non enim quando ultimo scripsistis fuerunt composita quae iussistis, licet hoc credebatis."

¹⁹ Little, *Essays*, p. 11: "His first project was an elaborate one, including a systematic and scientific treatment of the various branches of knowledge; he worked at this, writing parts of the *Communium Naturalium* and *Communium Mathematicarum*, for some months ('till after Epiphany', i. e. January 6, 1267), but found it impossible. He then started again on a more modest scale and wrote in the next twelve months the preliminary treatise known as the *Opus Maius*, which was supplemented by the *Opus Minus*, and, subsequently, by the *Opus Tertium*."

²⁰ Brewer, p. xlv.

And why does he keep apologizing for "so great delay in this matter", and "your clemency's impatience at hope deferred"?²¹ Moreover, his excuses do not all apply to the same period, and most of them are excuses for not having composed a full exposition of philosophy rather than for not having composed sooner the *Opus Maius*, which Roger regarded as a mere preamble to philosophy. One set of excuses explains why he had no comprehensive work ready when the first request arrived.²² A second set explains why he had not written it in the interval between the two mandates.²³ A third set explains why he finally does not write it at all but sends instead an introductory treatise, the *Opus Maius*, supplemented by two others, the *Opus Minus* and *Opus Tertium*. Of course some excuses hold equally good for all three periods. But he states in the third treatise that in writing the second he was free from some of the "impediments" which had hampered his composition of the *Opus Maius*.²⁴ As he also says that one reason for writing the *Opus Minus* was lest the *Opus Maius* be lost amid the great dangers of the roads at that time, one infers that the latter work was despatched before the other. Moreover, the *Opus Minus* opens with a eulogy of the pope which is absent in the *Opus Maius*,²⁵ in which there are very few passages to suggest that it is addressed to the pope, or written later than 1266.²⁶

²¹ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 14: "Non igitur mirandum si ego dilationem tantam fecerim in hac parte." *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17: "Multotiens dimisi opus, et multotiens desperavi et neglexi procedere." *Ibid.*, p. 17: "Tanta dilatio in hoc negotio . . . vestrae clementiae taedium pro spe dilata", and other passages.

²² These excuses are listed in Gasquet, p. 500, to "antequam primum vestre dominationis recepti mandatum"; and are repeated in part in *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 13.

²³ To this period the difficulties listed in *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 15-17 (middle), would seem to apply. In Brewer, p. 16, and Gasquet, p. 502, Bacon states that to get money to meet the expenses incident to the composition of his work he had sent to his rich brother in England, but received no response because "exiles and enemies of the king occupied the land of my birth", while his own family had been exiled as supporters of the crown and ruined financially. All this must have occurred before the arrival of the second papal letter in 1266, for Simon de Montfort had been slain and the barons defeated in 1265.

²⁴ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 5: "Et impedimentorum remedia priorum nactus".

²⁵ As Bacon himself states in the *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 7, "Primo igitur in opere Secundo".

²⁶ I cannot agree with Gasquet, p. 497, that it "is obvious from numberless expressions in the work itself" that the *Opus Maius* was "addressed to the pope directly". The last chapter of the first book in Bridges's text is evidently addressed to the pope, but it is identical with a portion of the *Opus Minus* and evidently does not belong in the *Opus Maius* and is not found in the two oldest manuscripts. Similarly a passage of some 16 pages in Bridges on calendar reform, which gives the present year as 1267, is practically identical with a chapter of the *Opus Tertium* and was evidently transferred from that work to the *Opus Maius* at some later date. When we have excluded these passages the work is surprisingly free, compared to the other two works, from passages suggesting that it is addressed to the pope. The one mention of the "Apostolic See" (Bridges, I. 77; III. 94) is impersonal and does not imply that Foulques was pope, and

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXI.—16.

The *Opus Maius*, therefore, was practically finished, if not already sent, when the papal mandate of 1266 reached Bacon. When Roger learned that Foulques as pope was still interested in his work, visions of what the apostolic see might do for his programme of learning and himself flashed before his mind, and, after a fresh but vain effort at a *scriptum principale*, which kept him busy until Epiphany, he composed the supplementary treatise, the *Opus Minus*, with its adulatory introduction to Clement IV., with its excuses for sending or having sent a preambulatory treatise instead of a complete work of philosophy, with its hints that such a final treatise can be successfully completed only with the financial backing of the unlimited papal resources, with its analysis of the preceding work for the benefit of the busy pope and its suggestions as to what portions of it he might profitably omit, and with its additions of matter which in the *Opus Maius* Roger had either forgotten or at that time had not been in a position to insert. The third work, *Opus Tertium*, is of the same sort but apparently more disorderly in arrangement, and looser and more extravagant in its tone. Presumably it was undertaken to remind the pope again of Bacon's existence and proposals; it is even conceivable that Roger was a little unstrung when he composed it; it has been suggested that it was left unfinished and never sent to the pope, who died in 1268. A part at least of the *Opus Tertium* was written in 1267.²⁷

The extant papal mandate orders Bacon not only to send his book, but to state "what remedies you advise for the matters indicated by you recently on so critical an occasion", and to "do this without delay as secretly as you can".²⁸ This allusion to a crisis

does not occur in one of the manuscripts. Epithets such as "Your Wisdom" (Bridges, I. 17, 23, 305), "Your Highness" (I. 210; II. 377), "Your Glory" (I. 305; III. 96), "Your Reverence" (I. 376; II. 219), "Your Holiness" (I. 81; III. 101), "Your Beatitude" (I. 2, 72; III. 88) do not occur frequently and are either equally applicable to a cardinal, or not found in all the manuscripts, suggesting the possibility of their having been inserted later.

²⁷ Such seems to me the most plausible theory of the writing of the three works and the one which agrees best with Bacon's own statements; but it is only a hypothesis from the printed texts of his works which should be verified by examination of the manuscripts. Probably some of Bacon's statements can be interpreted to conflict with this hypothesis, but they sometimes conflict with each other, and he could not even keep the *scriptum principale* and *Opus Maius* distinct in his own mind according to Brewer's text (p. 3, "duo transmissi genera scripturarum: quorum unum est principale", and p. 5, "principalis scripturae", whereas at p. 60 we read, "Patet igitur quod scriptum principale non potui mittere"). See also Gasquet, p. 503, and *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 58. I have been stimulated by but cannot accept the conclusions of Father Mandonnet's "Roger Bacon et la Composition des Trois 'Opus'", *Revue Néo-Scholastique* (Louvain, 1913), pp. 52-68, and 164-180. Mandonnet holds that the *Opus Maius* was written *after* the other two works, which were never finished nor sent, but from which Roger took some passages to insert in the *Opus Maius*, which Mandonnet believes was sent only in 1268.

²⁸ "Quae tibi videntur adhibenda remedia circa illa, quae nuper occasione tanti discriminis intimasti: et hoc quanto secretius poteris facias indilata." Brewer, p. 1.

and this injunction of secrecy have cast a certain veil of mystery over the three works and the relations of Roger and the pope. The recent critical occasion may have been the time when Guy de Foulques as papal legate was refused admission to England; or, if we judge from the contents of Bacon's replies, the crisis would seem to be either the menace of the Tatars to the western Christian world, or the near advent of Antichrist, in which Bacon with many others of his century seems to have believed, or the situation in the contemporary world of learning, which Roger certainly regarded as requiring the immediate application of remedies. Observance of secrecy may have been intended to guard against such frauds of copyists as we shall soon hear Bacon describe, or to secure some alchemistic arcana or practical inventions which the pope had been led to expect from him. Indeed, so far as alchemy was concerned, Bacon observed the injunction of secrecy so strictly that he divided his discussion of the subject among four different treatises sent to the pope at different times and by different messengers, so that no outsider might steal the precious truth. It must be added that even after receiving all four installments, the pope would not have been much nearer the philosopher's stone than before.²⁹

Another moot question in Bacon's biography besides that of the composition of the three works is that of his relations with the Franciscan order. We have seen that it was natural for him to join it, and that the change, at first at least, seemed one for the better. Bacon, however, found irksome the rule made by the order in 1260, as a consequence of the publication in 1254 of Gerard's heretical *Introductorius in Evangelium Aeternum*, that in the future no Franciscan should publish anything without permission.³⁰ Roger wished to employ amanuenses even in composing his works, and these men, he tells the pope, would often divulge "the most secret writings" and so involve one in unintentional violation of the above rule. "And therefore", says Bacon, "I did not feel the least bit like writing anything".³¹ For a man so easily discouraged one cannot feel much sympathy. There is however another important inference from his statement: instead of his writings being neglected by his age, they are so valued that they are pirated before they have been published. Moreover, this rule of his order

²⁹ *Part of the Opus Tertium of Roger Bacon* (ed. A. G. Little, Aberdeen, 1912), pp. 80-82. This passage is the fourth one and in it Bacon lists the three earlier statements: "Scripsi in tribus locis Vestre Glorie de huiusmodi secretis." Roger ultimately decides that he will not reveal the whole secret even in this fourth installment, because alchemists never put the full truth into writing; he therefore "reserves some points for word of mouth".

³⁰ See the article on "Roger Bacon" by Theophilus Witzel in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

³¹ Gasquet, p. 500. "Et ideo componere penitus abhorrebam", etc.

should not have hampered Bacon much in writing for the pope; indeed, Roger himself implies that he was exempted from this restriction in the earlier request from the cardinal as well as in the later papal mandate. Raymond of Laon, Bacon grants, had correctly informed "Your Magnificence, as both the mandates state", concerning this regulation, though he had given a wrong impression as to what Bacon already had written.³²

We have heard from Bacon's own mouth that he did little public teaching after becoming a friar, that he had as much time for private study as ever, and that everybody supposed him to be at work at his *magnum opus*. Yet in the *Opus Minus* he grumbles that "his prelates were at him every day to do other things"³³ before he received the first mandate from the cardinal, and that even thereafter he was unable to excuse himself fully from their demands upon his time, "because Your Lordship had ordered me to treat that business secretly, nor had Your Glory given them any instructions".³⁴ In the *Opus Tertium* he describes the same situation in stronger language: "They pressed me with unspeakable violence to obey their will as others did", and "I sustained so many and so great set-backs that I can not tell them".³⁵ On how we interpret a few such passages as these depends our estimate of the attitude of the Franciscan order before 1267 to Bacon and his ideas and researches. He gives so many other reasons why he has no comprehensive work of philosophy ready for the pope that this attitude of his superiors seems a relatively slight factor. He needed much money, he needed expensive instruments, he needed a large library, he needed "plenty of parchment", he needed a corps of assistant investigators and another of copyists with skilled superintendents to direct their efforts and insert figures and other delicate details. It was a task beyond the powers of any one man; besides, he was in ill-health, he felt languid, he composed very slowly. Shall we blame his superiors for not providing him with this expensive equipment; and are we surprised, when we remember that the mandates directed him to send a book supposed to be already finished, that his superiors continued to ask of him the performance of his usual duties as a friar? Surely their attitude cannot be called persecution of Bacon nor hostility to his science.³⁶

³² Gasquet, p. 500.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 502.

³⁵ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 15.

³⁶ P. Feret, "Les Emprisonnements de Roger Bacon", *Revue des Questions Historiques*, L. 119-142 (1891), shows how through the nineteenth century the legend of Bacon's persecution kept receiving additions at the hands of imaginative writers. Abbé Feret wrote in 1891; the fragment discovered in 1897 by Gasquet renders the legend even more untenable.

In 1272 in the *Compendium Philosophiae* Bacon lays bare the failings of "the two orders" as if he belonged to neither, but he then proceeds to refute indignantly those masters at Paris who have tried to argue that the state of the higher secular clergy, such as bishops, is more perfect than that of the religious.³⁷

In 1277 however we learn "solely on the very contestable authority of the Chronicle of the XXIV Generals"³⁸ that at the suggestion of many friars the teaching of "Friar Roger Bacon of England, master of sacred theology", was condemned as containing "some suspected novelties", that Roger was sentenced to prison, and that the pope was asked to help to suppress the dangerous doctrines in question. It has been a favorite conjecture of students of Bacon that he incurred this condemnation by his leanings toward astrology and magic; when I come to discuss his opinions on those points, I shall show how unfounded is this supposition. Suffice it here to note that the wording of the chronicle suggests nothing of the sort, but rather some details of doctrine, whereas had Bacon been charged with magic, we may be pretty sure that so sensational a feature would not have passed unmentioned.

This is about all that we know of Bacon's life except the dates of one or two more of his works. Mr. Little regards it as "certain that Roger's last dated work was written in 1292",³⁹ but the evidence for this is a single passage in one manuscript; other statements in the work in question sound as if penned earlier.

We turn from Bacon's life to his writings, and shall centre our attention upon his three works to the pope. In them he had his greatest opportunity and did his best work both in style and substance. They embody most of his ideas and knowledge. Two of them are merely supplementary to the *Opus Maius* and are parallel to it in aims, plan, and contents. Its two chief aims were to demonstrate the practical utility of "philosophy", especially to the Church, and secondly, to reform the present state of learning according to Bacon's idea of the relative importance of the sciences. Having convinced himself that an exhaustive work on philosophy was not yet possible, Roger substituted this introductory treatise, outlining the paths along which future study and investigation should go. Of the thirty divisions of philosophy he considers only the five which he deems the most important and essential, namely,

³⁷ *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, pp. 399, 425, 431.

³⁸ G. Delorme, "Roger Bacon", in Vacant and Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II. (1910); "Ce fait, basé uniquement sur l'autorité fort contestable de la chronique des xxiv généraux", *Analecta Franciscana* (Quaracchi, 1897), III. 460.

³⁹ *Essays*, p. 27; Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* (second ed.), I. 248, questions this date.

the languages, "mathematics", perspective or optic, "experimental science" (including alchemy), and moral philosophy, which last he regards as "the noblest" and "the mistress of them all".⁴⁰ Treated in this order, these "sciences" form the themes of the last five of the seven sections of the *Opus Maius*. Inasmuch as Roger regarded himself as a reformer of the state of learning, he prefixed a first part on the causes of human error to justify his divergence from the views of the multitude. His second section develops his ideas as to the relations of "philosophy" and theology.

The mere plan of the *Opus Maius* thus indicates that it is not exclusively devoted to natural science. "Divine wisdom", or theology, is the end that all human thought should serve, and morality is the supreme science. Children should receive more education in the Bible and the fundamentals of Christianity, and spend less time upon "the fables and insanities" of Ovid and other poets who are full of errors in faith and morals.⁴¹ In discussing other sciences Bacon's eye is ever fixed upon their utility "to the Church of God, to the republic of the faithful, toward the conversion of infidels and the conquest of such as cannot be converted".⁴² This service is to be rendered not merely by practical inventions or calendar reform or revision of the Vulgate, but by aiding in most elaborate and far-fetched allegorical interpretation of the Bible. To give a very simple example of this, it is not enough for the interpreter of Scripture to know that the lion is the king of beasts; he must be so thoroughly acquainted with all the lion's natural properties that he can tell whether in any particular passage it is meant to typify Christ or the devil.⁴³ Also the marvels of human science strengthen our faith in divine miracles.⁴⁴ Bacon speaks of philosophy as the handmaid of "sacred wisdom";⁴⁵ he asserts that all truth is contained in Scripture, though philosophy and canon law are required for its comprehension and exposition, and that anything alien therefrom is utterly erroneous.⁴⁶ Nay more, the Bible is surer ground than philosophy even in the latter's own field of the natures and properties of things.⁴⁷ Furthermore, "philosophy considered by itself is of no utility".⁴⁸ Bacon believed not only that the active intellect (*intellectus agens*) by which

⁴⁰ Gasquet, p. 509.

⁴¹ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 54-55.

⁴² This was a favorite formula with Bacon; see *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 3-4, 20; Gasquet, pp. 502, 509.

⁴³ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, p. 388.

⁴⁴ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 52.

⁴⁵ Gasquet, p. 509.

⁴⁶ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 81.

⁴⁷ Bridges, I. 43.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

our minds are illuminated was from God and not an integral part of the human mind,⁴⁹ but that all philosophy had been revealed by God to the sainted patriarchs and again to Solomon,⁵⁰ and that it was impossible for man by his own efforts to attain to "the great truths of the arts and sciences".⁵¹ Bacon alludes several times to sin as an obstacle to the acquisition of science;⁵² on the other hand, he observes that contemporary Christians are inferior morally to the pagan philosophers, from whose books they might well take a leaf.⁵³ All this gives little evidence of an independent scientific spirit, or of appreciation of experimental method as the one sure foundation of scientific knowledge. We see how much of a medieval friar and theologian and how little of a modern scientist Roger could be. It must, of course, be remembered that he is trying to persuade the Church to support scientific research; still, there seems to be no sufficient reason for doubting his sincerity in the above statements, though we must discount here as elsewhere his tendency to make emphatic and sweeping assertions.

Writers as far back as Cousin⁵⁴ and Charles⁵⁵ have recognized that Bacon was interested in the scholasticism of his time as well as in natural science. His separate works on the *Metaphysics* and *Physics* of Aristotle are pretty much the usual sort of medieval commentary;⁵⁶ the tiresome dialectic of the "Questions on Aristotle's *Physics*" is well brought out in Duhem's essay, "Roger Bacon et l'Horreur du Vide".⁵⁷ Bacon's works dedicated to the pope, on the contrary, are written to a considerable extent in a clear, direct, outspoken style; and the subjects of linguistics, mathematics, and experimental science seem at first glance to offer little opportunity for metaphysical disquisitions or scholastic method. Yet, here too, much space is devoted to intellectual battledore and shuttlecock with such concepts as matter and form, moved and mover, agent and patient, element and compound.⁵⁸ Such current

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41. Bacon is believed to have rather misrepresented the position of William of Auvergne on this point, when he says that William twice reproved at Paris those who held the active intellect to be part of the soul. N. Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne* (Paris, 1880), pp. 289-290; E. Charles, *Roger Bacon: sa Vie, ses Ouvrages, ses Doctrines* (Bordeaux, 1861), p. 327.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45; Gasquet, p. 508; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 24.

⁵¹ Bridges, I. 45.

⁵² *Ibid.*, II. 170; *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, pp. 405, 408.

⁵³ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 50: "Mirum enim est de nobis Christianis, qui sine comparatione sumus imperfectiores in moribus quam philosophi infideles. Legantur decem libri Ethicorum Aristotelis et innumerabiles Senecae, et Tullii, et aliorum, et inveniemus quod sumus in abyso vitiorum."

⁵⁴ V. Cousin, *Journal des Savants*, 1848, p. 467.

⁵⁵ Charles, *Roger Bacon*. This work will hereafter be cited as Charles.

⁵⁶ Little, *Essays*, p. 4: "They are in the prevalent dialectic style, and perhaps might be put into the class of works which Bacon afterwards ridiculed as 'horse-loads'."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-284.

⁵⁸ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, pp. 360-367.

problems as the unity of the intellect, the source of the *intellectus agens*, and the unity or infinity of matter are introduced for discussion,⁵⁹ although the question of universals is briefly dismissed.⁶⁰

Two other characteristic traits of scholasticism are found in the *Opus Maius*, namely, continual use of authorities and the highest regard for Aristotle, "summus philosophorum",⁶¹ as Bacon calls him. Because in one passage in his *Compendium Philosophiae* Bacon says in his exaggerated way that he would burn all the Latin translations of Aristotle if he could,⁶² it has sometimes been assumed that he was opposed to the medieval study of Aristotle. Yet in the very next sentence he declares that "Aristotle's labors are the foundations of all wisdom". What he wanted was more, not less Aristotle. He believed that Aristotle had written a thousand works.⁶³ He complains quite as much that certain works of Aristotle have not yet been translated into Latin as he does that others have been translated incorrectly. As a matter of fact, he himself seems to have made about as many mistakes in connection with the study of Aristotle as did anyone else. He thought many apocryphal writings genuine, such as the *Secret of Secrets*,⁶⁴ an astrological treatise entitled *De Impressionibus Coelestibus*,⁶⁵ and other writings concerning "the arcana of science" and "marvels of nature".⁶⁶ He overestimated Aristotle and blamed the translators for obscurities and difficulties which abound in the Greek text itself. He declares that a few chapters of Aristotle's *Laws* are superior to the entire corpus of Roman law.⁶⁷ His assertion that Robert Grosseteste paid no attention to translations of Aristotle is regarded as misleading by Baur.⁶⁸ He nowhere gives credit to Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas for their great commentaries on Aristotle,⁶⁹ which are superior to any that he wrote. He bases some of his own views upon mistranslations of Aristotle, substituting, for instance, "matter" for "substance"—a mistranslation avoided by Albert and Thomas.⁷⁰

⁵⁹ Bridges, I. 38, 143; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 120.

⁶⁰ Bridges, I. 42.

⁶¹ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 6.

⁶² *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 469.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 473. *Compendium Studii Theologiae* (ed. H. Rashdall) in vol. III. of *British Society of Franciscan Studies* (Aberdeen, 1911), p. 34.

⁶⁴ He wrote a commentary on it; see Tanner MSS., 116, Bodleian Library.

⁶⁵ Bridges, I. 389.

⁶⁶ *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 473.

⁶⁷ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 50; *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 422.

⁶⁸ Ludwig Baur, *Die Philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste* (Münster, 1912; Bd. IX. in Baeumker's *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Philos. d. Mittelalters*), p. 15.

⁶⁹ Cousin, *Journal des Savants*, 1848, p. 300, concludes that because Bacon asserts that the *Politics* of Aristotle is not yet in use among the Latins, Albertus and Aquinas did not write their commentaries on this work until after 1266.

⁷⁰ K. Werner, "Die Kosmologie und Allgemeine Naturlehre des Roger

Despite its theological and scholastic proclivities Bacon's mind had a decidedly critical bent. He was, like Petrarch, profoundly pessimistic as to his own times. Church music, present-day sermons, the immorality of monks and theologians, the misconduct of students at Oxford and Paris, the wars and exactions of kings and feudal lords, the prevalence of Roman Law—these are some of the faults he has to find with his age.⁷¹ The *Opus Maius* is largely devoted, not to objective presentation of facts and discussion of theories, but to subjective criticism of the state of learning and even of individual contemporary scholars. This last is so unusual that Bacon excuses himself for it to the pope in both the supplementary treatises.⁷² Several other works of Bacon display the same critical tendency. The *Compendium Philosophiae* enlarges upon the complaints and criticisms of the three works. In the *Tractatus de Erroribus Medicorum* he detected in contemporary medicine "thirty-six great and radical defects with infinite ramifications".⁷³ But in medicine, too, his own contributions are of little account. In the *Compendium Studii Theologiae*, after contemptuous allusion to the huge *Summae* of the past fifty years, he opens with an examination of the problems of speculative philosophy which underlie the questions discussed by contemporary theologians. As far as we know that is as far as he got. And in the five neglected sciences to which his *Opus Maius* was a mere introduction he seems to have made little further progress than is there recorded; it has yet to be proved that he made any definite original contribution to any particular science or branch of learning.

After all, we must keep in mind the fact that in ancient and medieval times hostile criticism was more likely to hit the mark than were attempts at constructive thought and collection of scientific details. There were plenty of wrong ideas to knock down; it was not easy to find a rock foundation to build upon, or materials without some hidden flaw. The church fathers made many telling shots in their bombardment of pagan thought; their own interpretation of nature and life less commands our admiration. So Roger Bacon, by devoting much of his space to criticism of the mistakes of others and writing "preambles" to science and theology, avoided treacherous detail—a wise caution for his times. Thus he constructed a sort of intellectual portico more pretentious than he

Bacon", in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, ph.-hist. Cl. (Vienna, 1879), XCIV. 495. For further errors by Bacon concerning the text of Aristotle see Duhem, "Roger Bacon et l'Horreur du Vide", in Little, *Essays*, pp. 254 and 259.

⁷¹ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 302, 304; *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, pp. 412, 429, 399, 418 ff.; and *Opus Tertium*, pp. 84 ff.

⁷² Gasquet, p. 503; Brewer, pp. 29–30.

⁷³ Little, *Essays*, p. 347; E. Withington, "Roger Bacon and Medicine".

could have justified by his main building. To a superficial observer this portico may seem a fitting entrance to the temple of modern science, but a closer examination discovers that it is built of the same faulty materials as the neglected ruins of his contemporaries' science.

Merely to have assumed a critical point of view in the Middle Ages may seem a distinction; but Abelard, Adelard of Bath, William of Conches, and Daniel Morlay were all critical, back in the twelfth century. Moreover, our estimate of any critic must take into account how valid, how accurate, how original, and how consistent his criticisms were and from what motives they proceeded. Some of Bacon's complaints the reader of medieval literature has often listened to before. What student of philosophy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had not sighed at the invasion of the Roman Law into school and Church and State? What devotee of astronomy had failed to contrast its human interest and divine relationships with the dry drubbing of the jurists? What learned man had not expressed his preference for the wise and the experts (*sapientes*) over the *vulgus* or common herd? The great secrets of learning and the danger of casting pearls before swine were also quite familiar concepts. If Bacon goes a step farther and speaks of a *vulgus studentium* and even of a *vulgus medicorum*, he is only refining a medieval commonplace.

In Bacon's discussion of the four causes of human error his attack upon undue reliance on authority has often seemed to modern readers most unusual for his age. But all his arguments against authority are drawn from authorities;⁷⁴ and while he seems to have got a whiff of the spirit of rationalism from such classical writers as Seneca and Cicero, he also quotes the *Natural Questions* of his fellow-countryman, Adelard of Bath, who in the early twelfth century had found the doctrine of the schools of Gaul as little to his liking as was that of Paris to Roger's taste, and who had gone to Spain and the Saracens for new ideas, and of whose originality and scientific standpoint I have treated elsewhere.⁷⁵ Bacon does

⁷⁴ Rashdall says in the introduction to his edition of Bacon's *Compendium Studii Theologiae* (Aberdeen, 1911), p. 3: "There is a certain irony in the fact that the writer's argument in favor of independent thinking as against authority consists chiefly of a series of citations."

⁷⁵ Bridges, I. 5-6, and also p. 7, where Bacon quotes another sentence from Adelard without naming him, "Et ideo multi . . . cur a tergo non scribitis." Adelardus Bathoniensis, *Questiones Naturales* (Louvain, 1480). Also at Eton College, MS. 161, of the twelfth century. I have discussed Adelard somewhat in a lecture on "Natural Science in the Middle Ages", *Popular Science Monthly*, September, 1915, pp. 271-291; and in *Nature*, February 4, 1915, pp. 616-617, "Adelard of Bath and the Continuity of Universal Nature", where I show that a theory in physics whose origin Professor Duhem attributes to Bacon is found earlier in Adelard.

not cite another twelfth-century Englishman, Daniel Morlay; but his fourth cause of human error, the concealment of ignorance by a false show of learning, might well have been suggested by passages in Daniel's preface to the Bishop of Norwich. There Daniel satirizes the *bestiales* who occupied chairs in the schools of Paris "with grave authority", and reverently marked their Ulpianisms with daggers and asterisks, and seemed wise as long as they concealed their ignorance by a statuesque silence, but whom he found "most childish" when they tried to say anything. He also warns his readers not to spurn Arabic clarity for Latin obscurity; it is owing to their ignorance and inability to attain definite conclusions that Latin philosophers of his day spin so many elaborate figments and hide "uncertain error under the shadow of ambiguity".⁷⁶

Bacon's criticisms have usually been taken to apply to medieval learning as a whole, but a closer examination shows their application to be much more limited. In the first place, he is thinking only of the past "forty years" in making his complaints; in the good old days of Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, William Wolf, and William of Shyrwood things were different and scholarship flowed smoothly, if not copiously, in the channels marked out by the ancient sages;⁷⁷ nor does Bacon deny that there was a renaissance of natural science and an independent scientific spirit still farther back in the twelfth century.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *Philosophia Magistri Danielis de Merlai ad Iohannem Norwicensem Episcopum*, Arundel MSS., 377 (British Museum), fols. 88-103, thirteenth century. A little of it has been printed by T. Wright, *Biogr. Brit. Lit.* (London, 1846), II. 227-230; and by V. Rose in *Hermes*, VIII. (1874). Rose's list of the authorities cited by Daniel is woefully incomplete. Daniel seems to have lived in the late twelfth century and to have been a pupil of Gerard of Cremona.

⁷⁷ Bridges, I. 17; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 70, 91, 187.

⁷⁸ See the excellent but little known treatise of Charles Jourdain, *Dissertation sur l'État de la Philosophie Naturelle en Occident et principalement en France pendant la Première Moitié du XIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1838). For a brief general survey of natural science in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see my lecture referred to in note 75.

It is still difficult even for the reader of French and German to find out much about medieval natural science or medicine or pharmacy. One must, then, go back to the original Latin sources, if not to the Arabic and other languages, and these sources are not easy to get at, existing in many cases only in rare old editions or in manuscript. Histories both of science in general and of the individual sciences are usually compiled chiefly from old and dubious secondary sources; devote little space to the Middle Ages; and too often give little more than biographical and bibliographical detail, which is often wrong, rather than estimate the authors' subject-matter. In such works, too, occult science and magic, which played so large and important a part, are generally neglected or misinterpreted.

Such works, however, as the following are of considerable service: F. Danneemann, *Die Naturwissenschaften in ihrer Entwicklung und in ihrem Zusammenhange*; E. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* (Königsberg, 1855); M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik* (Leipzig, 1913, latest ed.); E. Gerland, *Geschichte der Physik* (Munich, 1913); E. Gerland and F. Traumüller, *Geschichte der Physikalischen Experimentierkunst* (Leipzig, 1899); F. Picavet, *Esquisse d'une Histoire Comparée des Philosophies Médiévales* (Paris, 1905); and the writings of Daremberg on the history of medicine and of Delambre on that of

Secondly, except for his tirades against the Italians and their civil law, Bacon's criticisms apply to but two countries, France and England, and two universities, Oxford and Paris. Also those few contemporaries whom he praises are either his old Oxford friends or scattered individuals in France. Of the state of learning in Italy, Spain, and Germany he says little and apparently knew little. Amid his sighing for some prince or prelate to play the patron to science, he never mentions Alfonso X. of Castile, who was so interested in the "mathematics" and occult science which were so dear to Bacon's heart;⁷⁹ Roger even still employs the old Toletan astronomical tables of Arzachel instead of the Alfonsine tables issued in 1252, the first year of that monarch's reign.⁸⁰ While complaining of the ignorance of the natures and properties of animals, plants, and minerals which is shown by contemporary theologians in their explanation of Scriptural passages, Bacon not only slights the encyclopedias which several clergymen like Alexander Neckam, Bartholomew of England, Thomas of Cantimpré, and Vin-

astronomy. In English there is an entertaining history of medicine with a good bibliography by E. Withington (London, 1894). In medicine and mathematics there are also periodicals dealing with the history of those fields such as *Janus* and *Bibliotheca Mathematica*. Dealing more specially with the Middle Ages are the following: Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1893), an admirable research bringing out many new points but after all based on the study of only a few of the numerous available manuscripts in medieval alchemy and chemistry; Millot-Carpentier, "La Médecine au XIII^e Siècle", in *Annales Internationales d'Histoire* (Congrès de Paris, 1900, 5e section, Histoire des Sciences); R. von Töply, *Studien zur Geschichte der Anatomie im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1898); F. A. Pouchet, *Histoire des Sciences Naturelles au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1853), limited chiefly to an estimate of Albertus Magnus as a natural scientist; Strunz, *Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1910, 120 pp., no notes). On medieval lapidaries see L. Pannier, *Les Lapidaires Français du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1882), and the writings of F. de Mély. Several essays by Valentine Rose in such periodicals as *Hermes* and *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum* deal with matters of medieval science and superstition, and call attention to neglected manuscripts. The numerous publications of Moritz Steinschneider upon Hebrew and Arabian writings and the Latin translations thereof often touch on natural science, alchemy, and astrology, but chiefly from the bibliographical and biographical standpoint. Helpful in a similar way are "The Reception of Arabic Science in England", *English Historical Review*, January, 1915, and other recent articles by C. H. Haskins. Cousin and Hauréau in their well-known works, though interested primarily in scholasticism, occasionally touch on science in their searches into the manuscript sources. The *Histoire Littéraire de la France* sometimes describes the contents of medieval works of natural and occult science, as well as the biography and bibliography of their authors.

Of the medieval Latin texts some, like Bacon's *Opus Maius* and the complete works of Albertus Magnus, have received separate modern editions; others, if written by Englishmen or by ecclesiastics of the twelfth century, are sometimes found in the *Rolls Series* or Migne's *Patrologie Latine*; while many formerly little known works are now being published in the two series, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematischen Wissenschaften* (Teubner), and *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* (herausgegeben von C. Baeumker.) J. L. Pagel has edited some hitherto inaccessible works of medicine.

⁷⁹ Bacon's ignorance of Spanish would probably in any case have prevented him from securing Alfonso as a patron.

⁸⁰ Bridges, I. 192, 196, 271, 298, 299, note.

cent of Beauvais had compiled; he also says nothing of the school at Cologne of Albertus Magnus, whose reputation was already established by the middle of the century,⁸¹ who personally investigated many animals, especially those of the north, and often rectified the erroneous assertions of classical zoologists, whom the historian of botany has lauded,⁸² whose students too were curious to know not only the theoretical botany that passed under the name of Aristotle, but also the particular characteristics of plants, and who in his five books on minerals discusses the alchemy and indulges in the same occult science and astrology which Bacon deemed so important. Yet Albert was a noted theologian and biblical commentator as well as a student of nature. In his lamentation over the sad neglect of astrology among the "Latins"⁸³ Bacon ignores the voluminous Latin treatise on that art by his contemporary, Guido Bonati of the University of Bologna, though it shows wide reading in both classical and Arabian astrologers.⁸⁴ Bacon grieves at the neglect of the science of optic by his age, and says that it has not yet been lectured

⁸¹ Ptolemy of Lucca (Muratori, XI., col. 1150 ff.) says that Albert and his pupil Aquinas were flourishing in the time of Pope Alexander IV. (1253). After resigning the bishopric of Ratisbon, Albert spent the last 18 years of his life (1262-1280) teaching at Cologne. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* (second ed.), I. 36, places the beginning of the publication of Albert's great works in philosophy about 1245, though he puts his birth in 1206 instead of 1193, the traditional date. Albert seems to have spent only a few years of his life in France, perhaps about 1248 (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, XIX. 362-381).

In saying that Bacon does not mention Albert's work in natural science, I of course do not mean to imply that he never mentions Albert. He excuses his delay in answering the pope by declaring that the most noted Christian scholars, such as Brother Albert of the Order of Preachers and Master William of Shyrwood, could not in ten years produce such a work as he transmits; and he incidentally observes that William is a far abler scholar than Albert (*Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 14). I am suspicious however of the integrity of the passage (*Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 426) where Bacon sneers at the theological teaching of "the boys of the two Orders, such as Albert and Thomas and the others who enter the Orders when twenty years or under". It seems incongruous for Bacon to speak of his senior, Albert, as a boy. Other passages in Bacon's works which have been taken to apply to Albert, though he is not expressly named, seem to me not to apply to him at all closely; and if meant for him, they show that Bacon was an incompetent and unfair critic. Not only was Albert only for a short time in Paris; he does not seem to have been in sympathy with the conditions there which Bacon attacks. Nor can I see that Bacon is meant in the passage at the close of Albert's *Politics* (*Opera*, ed. Borgnet, VIII. 803-804, and Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, p. 332), where he declares that its doctrines, as in his books on physics, are not his own theories but a faithful reflection of peripatetic opinion; and that he makes this statement for the benefit of lazy persons who occupy their idle hours in searching writings for things to criticise; "Such men killed Socrates, drove Plato from Athens to the Academy, and, plotting even against Aristotle, forced him into exile." Such a passage seems a commonplace one. Both Adelard of Bath and William of Conches express the same fear of setting forth new ideas of their own, and medieval writers not infrequently in their prefaces apprehend with shrinking "the bite of envy" which both their Horace and personal experience had taught would follow fast on publication.

⁸² E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Botanik*, IV. 39-40.

⁸³ Bridges, I. 389.

⁸⁴ Guido Bonati, *Liber Astronomicus* (Augsburg, 1491), 422 fols.

on at Paris nor among the Latins except twice at Oxford;⁸⁵ he does not mention the important work of Witelo, a Pole who travelled in Italy.⁸⁶ Perhaps the books of Witelo and Bonati were not yet published when Bacon wrote in 1266 and 1272, but they were probably well under way and their production can scarcely be attributed to his influence.

Thirdly, while Bacon occasionally makes bitter remarks about the present state of learning in general, it is the teaching of theology at Paris and by the friars that he has most in mind and that he especially desires to reform. Though himself a friar and master of theology, he had been trained and had then himself specialized in the three learned languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic, in optic and geometry, in astronomy and astrology, in alchemy and "experimental science", and in the writings of the classical moralists. Consequently he thought that no one could be a thorough theologian who did not go through the same course of training; nay, it was enough to ruin the reputation of any supposed scholar in Bacon's sight, if he were unacquainted with these indispensable subjects. Bacon held that it was not sufficient preparation for theology merely to study "the common sciences, such as Latin grammar, logic, and a part of natural philosophy, and a little metaphysics".⁸⁷ However, it was not that he objected to these studies in themselves, nor to the ordinary university instruction in the arts course; in fact, he complains that many young friars start in to study theology at once and "presume to investigate philosophy by themselves without a teacher".⁸⁸ Bacon has a low opinion of the scholarship of Alexander of Hales because his university education had been completed before the chief authorities and commentaries in natural philosophy and metaphysics had been translated. Against another friar generally regarded by the academic world as its greatest living authority Bacon brings the charge that "he never heard philosophy in the schools", and "was not instructed nor trained in listening, reading, and disputing, so that he must be ignorant of the common sciences".⁸⁹ Such passages show that to represent Bacon's writings as full of "sweeping attacks" upon the "metaphysical subtleties and verbal strifes" of his age is to exaggerate his position.⁹⁰ There are not many direct attacks upon scholastic method in his works.

⁸⁵ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 37.

⁸⁶ Baeumker, *Witelo, ein Philosoph und Naturforscher des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1906).

⁸⁷ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, p. 324.

⁸⁸ *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 426.

⁸⁹ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, pp. 326-327.

⁹⁰ Bridges, I. xxx.

It is true that Bacon complains of the lack of good teachers in his day, saying in the *Opus Minus* that he could impart to an apt pupil in four years all the knowledge that it had taken himself forty years to acquire,⁹¹ and in the *Opus Tertium* that he could do it in a half or a quarter of a year, and that he could teach a good student all the Greek and Hebrew he need know in three days for each subject.⁹² But aside from the young friars who presume to teach theology, the teachers against whom he rails most are those in his favorite subject of "mathematics". Bacon could teach more useful geometry in a fortnight than they do in ten or twenty years⁹³—a hint that much time was given in those days to the study of mathematics. These boasts are not, however, as wild as they may at first seem; after all Roger did not know a vast amount of geometry and Greek and Hebrew, and he had no intention of teaching any more of mathematics and the languages than would be of service in his other sciences, in theology, and in practical life.

It is easy to discern the personal motives which actuated Bacon in his criticism. He grieved to see the neglect by his fellow theologians of the subjects in which he was particularly interested, and to see himself second in reputation, influence, and advancement to the "boy theologians". It angered him that these same narrowly educated and narrow-minded men should "always teach against these sciences in their lectures, sermons, and conferences".⁹⁴ And after all, as he tells the pope, he does not wish to revolutionize the curriculum nor overthrow the existing educational system, "but that from the table of the Lord, heaped with wisdom's spoils, I, poor fellow, may gather the falling crumbs I need". Comment would only weaken the force of this confession.

Bacon's allusions to and dates for events in the history of medieval learning are sometimes hard to fit in with what we learn from other sources, and he has been detected in misstatements of the doctrines of other scholars.⁹⁵ His personal diatribes against the Latin translators of Greek and Arabian science seem overdrawn and unfair, especially when he condemns the first translators for not knowing the sciences in question before they ventured to translate, whereas it is plain that the sciences could not be known to the Latin world until the translations had been made. Indeed, it may be doubted if Roger himself knew Arabic well enough to read

⁹¹ Gasquet, p. 507.

⁹² *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 65.

⁹³ Gasquet, p. 507.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 504-505; and Bridges, I. 31; see also *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 59.

⁹⁵ See notes 49 and 68.

scientific works therein without a translation or interpreter. Especially unjustifiable and ill advised seems his savage onslaught upon William of Meerbeke,⁹⁶ whom Aquinas induced to translate Aristotle from the Greek, who was like Bacon interested in occult science, and to whom Witelo dedicated his treatise on optic. As William held the confidential post of papal chaplain and penitentiary under Clement IV., and as he became archbishop of Corinth about the time that Roger was condemned to prison, there may have been some personal rivalry and bitterness between them.

It should be said to Bacon's credit that his own statements do not support the inference which others have drawn from them, that he was alone in the advocacy or pursuit of the studies dear to him. In the *Opus Minus* he says to the pope, with rather unusual modesty it must be admitted, "I confess that there are several men who can present to Your Wisdom in a better way than I can these very subjects of which I treat".⁹⁷ And though the secrets of the arts and sciences are neglected by the crowd of students and their masters, "God always has reserved some sages who know all the necessary elements of wisdom. Not that anyone of them knows every detail, however, nor the majority of them; but one knows one subject, another another, so that the knowledge of such sages ought to be combined".⁹⁸ Combine it Bacon does for the pope's perusal, and he is not ashamed to speak on its behalf, for though there are fewer Latins conversant with it than there should be, there are many who would gladly receive it, if they were taught.⁹⁹ Thus he speaks not merely as an exponent of his own ideas, but as the representative of a movement with a considerable following at least outside of strictly theological circles.

Bacon has been given great credit for pointing out the need of calendar revision three centuries before the papacy achieved it; but he says himself that not only wise astronomers but even ordinary *computistae* were already aware of the crying need for reform,¹⁰⁰ and his discussion of the calendar often coincides verbally with Grosseteste's *Computus*.¹⁰¹ When Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly over a century later again urged the need of reform upon Pope John

⁹⁶ In the *Compendium Philosophiae*, written about 1272 (Brewer, p. 472). Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, p. 40, rejects Bacon's aspersions upon William's translations. On William's career and writings see *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXI. 146.

⁹⁷ Gasquet, p. 505: "Quamvis autem fatear quod plures sunt qui hec eadem que tracto possunt meliori modo quam ego vestre sapientie referre."

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 502.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 515; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 274, 275, 295.

¹⁰¹ L. Baur, "Der Einfluss des Robert Grosseteste auf die Wissenschaftliche Richtung des Roger Bacon", in Little, *Essays*, p. 45.

XXIII., he cited Grosseteste often, but Bacon seldom or never.¹⁰² The treatment of geography in the *Opus Maius* is simply an intelligent compilation of well-known past writers, including the wretched work of Ethicus, supplemented from writings of the friars who had recently visited the Tatars. The Parisian version of the Bible, against which Bacon inveighs as a corruption of the Vulgate, was in the first instance the work of a conscientious Hebrew scholar,¹⁰³ and the numerous corrections and changes made in it since, though deplored by Bacon, show the prevalent interest in such matters. While Bacon holds that there are very few men who understand the theory of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic grammar, or the technique of the sciences which have to be studied from those languages, he admits that many men are found among the "Latins" who can speak those tongues, and that there are even plenty of teachers of Greek and Hebrew at Paris and elsewhere in France and England.¹⁰⁴

LYNN THORNDIKE.

(To be continued.)

¹⁰² Petrus de Alliaco, *De Correctione Kalendarii*, in an edition of the works of d'Ailly and Gerson printed about 1480.

¹⁰³ S. A. Hirsch, "Roger Bacon and Philology", in Little, *Essays*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁴ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 34, and *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 434.

THE COLONIAL POST-OFFICE

THE first arrangements of a postal character introduced into the North American colonies were made for the purpose of amending defects in private arrangements which had been in operation since the foundation of the colonies. From the time the Dutch settled on Manhattan Island and on the shores of the Hudson, and the English in Virginia and Massachusetts, continuous though irregular communication was maintained with the respective mother-countries by means of trading vessels. On the European side the arrangements were subject to few inconveniences. If the sailing-masters, on their arrival in Holland and England, were regardful of their trust, they would see that the letters placed in their mail-bags by the colonists were posted at the nearest post-office, and the postal systems in those countries could be depended on to do the rest. With the colonists the situation was less happy. As there were no post-offices, those sending or expecting letters had to depend on their own exertions or on the precarious goodwill of friends for information as to the time of arrival or departure of vessels, and for the necessary visits to the vessels. The first colony to apply a remedy for these inconveniences was Massachusetts Bay. On November 5, 1639, the general court of that colony issued an ordinance¹ directing that all letters arriving at Boston from beyond seas should be taken to Richard Fairbank's tavern. Fairbank's tavern seems to have been something of a public institution. Returns to the surveyor-general were made there and committees on trade and on other public matters held their meetings in its rooms. Fairbank undertook to make a proper delivery of the letters received by him, and he was authorized to take as compensation a penny for each letter so delivered. But the ordinance went further and in a qualified way conferred on him the other functions of a postmaster. He was licensed to accept letters from citizens for despatch across the sea, but the court were not minded to bestow a monopoly on him. The ordinance laid it down plainly that "no man shall be compelled to bring his letters thither except he please".

The Dutch West India Company, which governed New Netherland, made somewhat similar provision against the delays and failures in the delivery of its correspondence. In a letter² to the

¹ *Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, third series, VII. 48.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, XIV. 186.

director-general of New Netherland written on August 6, 1652, the directors in Amsterdam state that, having observed that "private parties give their letters to this or that sailor or free merchant, which letters to their great disadvantage are often lost through neglect, remaining forgotten in the boxes or because one or the other removes to another place", they have had a box set up at their place of meeting in which all letters may be deposited for despatch by the first ship sailing; and they advise that the same measure be taken in New Amsterdam. In 1659 they became peremptory, and ordered that any sailing-master found carrying letters otherwise than in the sealed bag made up for him at the company's offices, should be subject to a fine of one hundred guilders for each offense.³

The lack of common interests among the colonial groups accounts for the absence of an inland postal system, but there were two occasions before the issue of the Neale patent when the presence of a common danger drew the groups together, and each time the question of communications among them by regular posts was agitated. On the outbreak of the war between the English and their maritime rivals, the Dutch, in 1672, Governor Lovelace, at the direction of the king, set on foot inquiries as to what could be done towards establishing a regular postal service throughout the colonies. He arranged for a monthly courier service between New York and Boston.⁴ There was no road between the two places and Governor Winthrop was asked to provide an expert woodsman, who might guide the courier by the easiest road. The courier was directed to blaze the route, and it was hoped that a good road might be made over it. The courier had made only a few trips when New York was captured by a Dutch fleet. The town was restored to the English in 1674 but, with the disappearance of the danger, the service was dropped.

The other occasion was in 1684, when the pressure of the French and their Indian allies brought together all the colonies into a conference at Albany, at which the Iroquois took part. Colonel Dongan, governor of New York, threw out the proposition to establish a line of post-houses along the coast from the Acadian boundary to Carolina. The king was much pleased with the scheme, and directed Dongan to farm out the enterprise to some capable contractor.⁵ In March, 1685, he had an ordinance adopted in the

³ *Ibid.*, p. 446.

⁴ *Coll.*, Mass. Hist. Soc., fifth series, IX. 83-84.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, 1681-1685, no. 1848.

council of New York,⁶ providing for a post-office through the colonies, and fixing the charges for the conveyance of letters at threepence for each one hundred miles of carriage. Dongan's jurisdiction did not however extend beyond the colony of New York and the records of the other colonies are silent on the subject. No evidence has been discovered to show that the extensive scheme contemplated was carried into effect but it is tolerably certain that a regular service was in operation between New York and Boston. The narrative of the grievances against the tyrannical misrule of the usurper Leisler contains a statement that on January 16, 1690, the public post on his way to Boston was detained by a warrant from Leisler and his letters confiscated, and the terms of the statement make it clear that the post was a regular institution.⁷

In July, 1683, a weekly post was established in Pennsylvania. Letters were carried from Philadelphia to the Falls of Delaware for threepence; to Chester for twopence; to New Castle for fourpence; and to Maryland for sixpence.⁸

As part of the scheme of James II. for the confederation of the New England states under a royal governor, a postmaster was appointed for the united colonies. The choice fell upon Edward Randolph, who had just previously been selected as secretary and registrar of the new province. The appointment was dated November 23, 1685.⁹ He seems to have performed the duties of his office¹⁰ until the fall of the Andros government, which followed closely upon the deposition of James II. in 1689.

Until this time, then, the post-office would be classed generally among the merely temporary conveniences of the state, and not among its permanent institutions. It was William III. who established the first postal system in the colonies. When he had become firmly seated on his throne and had an opportunity to look about, the affairs of the North American colonies engaged his attention. They had been growing rapidly, and at the end of the period of the Revolution in England the population was estimated at about 200,000. The greater part of the increase was in the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, though the colonies of Maryland and Virginia showed considerable gain,

⁶ Quoted by Miss M. E. Woolley in *Early History of the Colonial Post-Office*, as from *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. III. Miss Woolley's essay is in the *Publications of the Rhode Island Hist. Soc.*, 1894, and is reprinted in the *Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University* (ed. J. Franklin Jameson).

⁷ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 682.

⁸ Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of Am.*, III. 492.

⁹ *Edward Randolph*, I. 270 (*Publications of the Prince Society*).

¹⁰ "Our letters that come by post now pass through hands of Councillour Randolph", Samuel Sewall to Thomas Glover, July 15, 1686. *Sewall Letter-Books*, I. 21.

and a beginning was made in the settlement of the Carolinas. The king resolved to have postal communication between Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. In 1691 he granted a patent¹¹ to the Master of the Mint, Thomas Neale, empowering him to establish a postal service between these colonies, and to open post-offices in the chief places. Neale seems to have been one of those parasitic creatures who manage to bask in court favor and to batten upon sinecures. He was at one time or another, and to a large extent simultaneously, master of the mint; groom porter to Charles II., in which capacity he was authorized to license and suppress gaming houses; conductor of government lotteries; patentee of the postal service in America; and commissioner of wrecks on the coast of Bermuda.¹² If the deputies he chose to conduct all these offices were as adequate to their duties as his deputy postmaster-general in America, the public service at least would not suffer from his pluralism.

Neale's patent as postmaster-general of the British possessions in America is a document of great importance and, if extraneous circumstances had not cut its life short, was well fitted to be the charter of the American post-office. The patent, which had a duration of twenty-one years, authorized Neale to establish a postal system throughout the British possessions in America. It prescribes in all needful detail the functions of such a service and gives him the exclusive privilege of letter conveyance within the territory covered by the system. Neale was obligated to see that the post-office was carried on efficiently; in case of dissatisfaction or of his failure to set the service on foot within two years the patent was to be determined. The postage charges were to be based on the rates in operation in England, or to be such other rates, "as the planters and others will freely give for their letters or packets upon the first settlement of such office or offices". Letters for England, which are excepted from the monopoly, if sent from American post-offices, were to be fully prepaid to the first post-office in England, where they would be subject to the inland charges in that country. For the privileges conferred by the patent Neale was to pay nothing, except the nominal sum of six shillings and eight pence, which was to be remitted to the Exchequer each year at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel.

Neale appointed as his deputy Andrew Hamilton, an Edinburgh merchant, who after seven years' residence in New Jersey was made

¹¹ A complete copy of the patent appears as an appendix to *The Early History of the Colonial Post Office*, by Miss Woolley.

¹² *Dict. of National Biography*, art., "Thomas Neale", and *Publications of the Prince Society*, VII. 385, note.

governor of that province in 1692. It was on April 4 of that year that he was made deputy postmaster-general. Neale was fortunate in his selection. Hamilton's course in relation to the post-office shows him to have been a man of energy and ability, with diplomatic powers of a high order. His success in his dealings with the colonial legislatures leaves no doubt on these points.

The patent furnished him with no warrant for high-handedness in carrying out its terms. He was authorized simply "to take such rates and sums of money as the planters shall agree to give". During the year 1692 Hamilton addressed himself to the legislatures of the colonies within the scope of his scheme, setting forth his plan, and begging that they might "ascertain and establish such rates and terms as should tend to quicker maintenance of mutual correspondence among the neighboring colonies and plantations, and that trade and commerce might be better preserved". The several legislatures looked on the proposition with favor, and Hamilton prepared a bill which he submitted for their consideration. This bill provided for a general post-office or chief letter-office in the principal town of each colony, the postmaster of which was to be appointed by Hamilton. As the patent conferred a monopoly on the holder, the proposed bill confirmed this monopoly, imposing considerable penalties for its infringement. The postal charges, as well as the privileges and appurtenances to be granted to postmasters and mail couriers, were settled between Hamilton and each of the legislatures. There was some variety in the privileges allowed to postmasters and couriers. In Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, the mail couriers were conceded free ferriage over the rivers and water courses which lay along their routes. In the acts passed by New York and New Hampshire there was no mention of ferriage, but in each a somewhat curious exemption is made in favor of the postmasters, that they should not be subject to excise charges on the ale and other liquors which formed the stock-in-trade of their business as innkeepers. The postmasters in all the colonies were exempted from public services, such as keeping watch and ward and sitting on juries. Shipmasters on arriving at a port with letters in their care, were enjoined to deliver them to the nearest post-office, where they would receive one half-penny for each letter.¹³

The principal postal rates were as follows. On letters from Europe or from any country beyond sea, if for Massachusetts, New

¹³ The several colonial acts were as follows: New York, passed November 11, 1692 (*Laws of Colony of N. Y.*, I. 293); Massachusetts, June 9, 1693 (ch. 3, I sess., 1693, *Province Laws*, I. 115); Pennsylvania, May 15, June 1, 1693 (*Duke of York's Laws*, p. 224); New Hampshire, June 5, 1693 (*N. H. Prov. Laws*, p. 561); Connecticut, May 10, 1694 (*Pub. Rec. of Conn.*, 1689-1706, p. 123).

Hampshire, or Pennsylvania, twopence; if for New York, nine pence. Letters passing between Boston and Philadelphia, and New York and Philadelphia were charged fifteen pence, and four and one-half pence respectively. There was a peculiarity in the postage on letters passing between Boston and New York. It differed according to the direction the letter was carried. A letter from New York to Boston cost twelve pence; while nine pence was the charge from Boston to New York. This was one of the consequences of the separate negotiations between Hamilton and the different legislatures. The Massachusetts act fixed the rates on letters to Boston, while the New York act settled the charge on letters going to New York. From Virginia to Philadelphia, to New York, and to Boston, the charges were nine pence, twelve pence, and two shillings respectively. All the acts concurred in the stipulation that letters on public business should be carried free of charge.

The foregoing is the substance of the acts passed in New York and Pennsylvania. Massachusetts went a step further. While as willing as the others to concede a monopoly of letter conveyance to Hamilton, it thought fit to impose on him the obligation of providing a satisfactory service. Accordingly, the Massachusetts legislature after authorizing Hamilton to establish a post-office in Boston, fixing the charges, and conferring on him the exclusive privilege of letter-carrying, added a clause binding him to maintain constant posts for the carriage of letters to the several places mentioned in the act, to deliver letters faithfully and seasonably, and imposed a fine of five pounds for each omission. In order to place a check on the post-office, the postmaster was required to mark on each letter the date of its receipt in his office. New Hampshire followed Massachusetts in inserting this clause in its Post-Office Act.

The four acts were sent to London, and submitted to the king in council for sanction. The acts of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire passed council, and became law, while on the advice of the governors of the post-office, the Massachusetts act was disallowed.¹⁴ The grounds for the discrimination against Massachusetts are difficult to understand. The Massachusetts act undoubtedly contained departures from the terms of the patent, but they were such departures as might be expected where an act is drawn up by a person unlearned in the law, who, having the patent before him, aims at substantial rather than at literal conformity therewith. There can be no question that the drafts presented to

¹⁴ Note to this effect attached to the act (ch. 3, 1 sess., 1693, *Province Laws*, I. 117).

the several assemblies were prepared by one person. Their practical identity establishes the fact. There can be equally little doubt that the draftsman was Hamilton himself. The governors of the post-office, who framed the objections,¹⁵ note first that the patent provides that the appointment of Neale's deputy shall, at his request, be made by the postmaster-general; whereas the Massachusetts act appears to appoint Andrew Hamilton postmaster-general of the colonies independent of the postmaster-general of England and not subject to the patent. The patent requires Neale to furnish accounts at stated intervals to enable the Treasury to establish the profits from the enterprise; it also stipulates for the cancellation of the patent in certain cases. Both these terms are omitted from the act. Insufficient care was taken in safeguarding the post-office revenue, and no provision was made for a successor in case of the removal of Hamilton from his position.

The points to which the post-office drew attention were, as will be seen, far from wanting weight, and if they had not been pressed against the Massachusetts bill alone, would have excited little comment. But the Massachusetts general court noted and resented the discrimination. When Neale was informed of the disallowance he begged the governors of the post-office to prepare a bill which they would regard as free from objections, and to lend their efforts to have it accepted by Massachusetts.¹⁶ A bill was drawn up and Lord Bellomont, the governor of New England, was instructed to invite the favorable consideration of the Massachusetts legislature to it.¹⁷ The bill was laid before the general court on June 3, 1699, and it was ordered to be transcribed and read.¹⁸ Five days later it came up for consideration, but it was resolved that the committee on the bill should "sit this afternoon",¹⁹ and it appeared in the assembly no more. The rejection of the bill, however, was of little or no practical consequence. The post-office was too great a convenience to be refused, and so it was established and conducted as if the bill were in operation, except that it had no monopoly in that colony. But the legislature, which was evidently desirous of extending in its own way all reasonable aid to Hamilton, passed an order in 1703²⁰ requiring shipmasters to deliver all letters they brought with them from over sea, at the post-office of the place of their arrival, for which they were to receive a half-penny each from

¹⁵ *Cal. St. P. Col., Am. and W. I.*, 1693-1696, no. 2234.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1696-1697, no. 505.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 1286.

¹⁸ *Prov. Laws of Mass.*, I. 263.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

²⁰ *Coll., Mass. Hist. Soc.*, third series, VII. 64.

the postmaster. Massachusetts equally with the other colonies made an annual grant to the post-office for the conveyance of its public letters.

The narrative so far deals only with the northern colonies, but the proposition for a post-office was submitted to Virginia and Maryland as well. These colonies were approached directly by the English court, and they were without the advantage of the draft bill which was laid before the legislatures of the other colonies and of Hamilton's advocacy. In the minutes of council of both governments²¹ it is recorded that the proposition was presented to them by the queen. This fact will account for the way it was treated in these colonies. When the scheme was submitted to the house of delegates of Maryland on May 13, 1695,²² it was set aside and nothing more was heard of it.

Virginia gave the proposition from the queen attentive consideration, though the ultimate results were no greater than had been obtained in Maryland. There had been since 1658 an arrangement for the transmission of letters concerning the public affairs of the colony.²³ An order was issued that year by the council that all letters superscribed for the public service should be conveyed from plantation to plantation to the place and person named, and the penalty for delaying any such letter was fixed at a hogshead of tobacco. No arrangements of a systematic nature were made for the conveyance of private letters. When advice of the patent for a post-office reached Virginia, the colony showed immediate interest. The council, on January 12, 1693, appointed Peter Heyman deputy postmaster,²⁴ and proceeded to draw up a post-office act. This act, which became law on April 3, 1693,²⁵ authorized Neale to establish a postal system in the colony at his own expense. He was to set up a general post-office at some convenient place and settle one or more sub-post-offices in each county. As letters were posted in the colony or reached it from abroad, they were to be forthwith dispersed, carried, and delivered in accordance with the directions they bore, and all letters for England were to be despatched by the first ship bound for any part of that country. The rates of postage were to be threepence a single letter within a radius of eighty miles, four

²¹ Minutes of council, Virginia, January 12, 1693, *Cal. St. P. Col., Am. and W. I.*, 1693-1696, no. 21; minutes of council, Maryland, September 24, 1694, *ibid.*, no. 1339.

²² Minutes of council, Maryland, *ibid.*, no. 1816.

²³ Henning's *Statutes at Large*, I. 436.

²⁴ Minutes of council, Virginia, *Cal. St. P. Col., Am. and W. I.*, 1693-1696, no. 20.

²⁵ Henning's *Statutes at Large*, III. 112; *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1659/60-1693, pp. 444-446.

pence half-penny outside the eighty-mile radius, and eighteen pence for each ounce weight. Public letters were to be carried free. No provision was made for postage on letters addressed to places beyond the limits of the colony, and it was expressly stipulated that the act did not confer a monopoly on Neale.

There is an engaging simplicity in the extent of the colony's requirements as compared with the limited character of its concessions. Neale at his own cost was to establish a postal system, comprising a general post-office at a place agreed upon and sub-offices to the number desired in each county. Couriers were to be available to take letters anywhere within the colony—without postage if on public business, at rates fixed by the colony if they were private letters—but no person need employ the post-office should other more convenient or cheaper mode of conveyance be available.

This act seems to have been adopted by the legislature before it was made aware of Hamilton's connection with the American post-office. When the council of Virginia were advised of Hamilton's appointment they opened communication with him. The notes of the correspondence as they appear in the minutes of council²⁶ do not give much information, but they show that Hamilton's proposition as submitted was not found to be acceptable, and as subsequent correspondence failed to remove the difficulties, matters remained as they were until Neale's patent expired. In 1710 the subject was reopened and the governor reported to the Board of Trade that he had been expecting a visit from Mr. Hamilton for the last two months, for the purpose of opening a post-office and connecting it with the other colonies. He foresaw a difficulty owing to the lack of a suitable currency, tobacco, which was the only specie, being, in the governor's words, "very incommodious to receive small payments in and of very uncertain value".²⁷

The line of posts established by Hamilton extended from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Philadelphia, and mails were carried over it weekly each way.²⁸ The postage collected throughout British North America during the four years from 1693 to 1697 was £1456-18-3, an average of considerably less than £400 a year. The expenses during those years amounted to £3817-6-11.²⁹ The deficit fell upon Neale. But the business augmented rapidly, so that by the end of the sixth year, the revenue covered all the expenses

²⁶ Minutes of council, Virginia, May 25, November 10, 1693, October 19, 25, 1694, May 3, July 25, 1695, *Cal. St. P. Col., Am. and W. I.*, 1693-1696, nos. 371, 671, 1430, 1454, 1804, 1975.

²⁷ *Spotswood Letters* (published by Virginia Hist. Soc.), I, 22.

²⁸ Minutes of council, New Hampshire (*N. H. Provincial Papers*, 1686-1722, p. 100).

²⁹ Treasury, II, 256 (G. P. O. Record Room).

except Hamilton's salary.³⁰ In 1699 Hamilton went to England and joined Neale in an appeal to the Treasury.³¹ They made a particular point of the necessity of securing a complete monopoly of the over-seas conveyance, and of increasing the postage charges. The postmasters-general were favorable to the former proposition, but were of opinion that it would be well to weigh carefully before adopting the proposal to increase the rates.³² In the course of the discussion, an idea was thrown out by the postmasters-general which was eagerly grasped at by Neale and Hamilton. It was that there was much reason to doubt whether a post-office in the colonies in private hands could ever succeed as it would require all the authority of the sovereign to induce the colonial governments to acquiesce in the monopoly, which was the indispensable condition to success. Neale at once offered to surrender his patent to the government upon equitable terms.³³ After some delay the government resumed the patent, and carried on the post-office in the colonies under the terms of the patent.³⁴ Its fortunes were no better under the change of management. In 1709 there was a deficit of £200 and much discontent arose among the postmasters, as Queen Anne would not allow her losses to be augmented by paying their salaries.³⁵

In 1711 an act was passed by the British Parliament which affected profoundly not only the post-office of Great Britain but that of the colonies as well.³⁶ Owing to a variety of causes the act of Charles II., under which the post-office was operated, had become insufficient. The new act was comprehensive in its scope, embracing for the first time the postal arrangements of the colonies. The whole system throughout the empire was placed under the direction of the postmaster-general of England, who appointed his deputies for the different colonies. The act swept away the several head offices in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and replaced them by one principal office at New York,³⁷ to which all the others were to be subordinate. The charges for the conveyance of letters were no longer a matter of negotiation between the postal authorities and the local legislatures but were fixed by this act of the British Parliament. As one of the purposes of the act of 1711 was to raise money to help defray the expenses of the War of the

³⁰ *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1697-1702, p. 289.

³¹ *Treasury*, II. 253 (G. P. O. Record Room).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³⁴ *Treasury*, VI. 205 (G. P. O. Record Room). John Hamilton was appointed deputy postmaster-general by the crown in 1707.

³⁵ *Coll.*, Mass. Hist. Soc., third series, VII. 69.

³⁶ *Statutes of United Kingdom*, 9 Anne, ch. 10.

³⁷ New York did not become the centre of the postal system until a reconstruction of the department was made in 1772.

Spanish Succession, there was a general augmentation of the rates. Thus the charge on a letter from New York to Philadelphia was raised from four and one-half pence to nine pence; that on a letter from Boston to Philadelphia from fifteen pence to twenty-one pence. These charges were for single letters weighing less than one ounce. If a letter weighed over one ounce, the charges were fourfold those given.

The act also greatly enhanced the charges on letters passing over-seas. In place of the penny or twopence which Americans had been accustomed to pay the captains of vessels bringing to them the letters which their correspondents had deposited in the bags in the London coffee-houses, the post-office now exacted a shilling for a letter consisting of a single sheet weighing less than an ounce, and four shillings if it weighed as much as an ounce. The captains were also impressed with the necessity of co-operating with the post-office, by a heavy fine for any captain's failure to hand to the postmaster nearest his port of arrival all letters in his charge.

It is somewhat strange, and is perhaps evidence of a disposition on the part of Americans to accept the view enunciated later by Franklin that postal charges were not taxes, that only one colony made a remonstrance against this great increase in the postage. Virginia not only refused to pay the increased rates but countered effectively on the attempts of the post-office to enforce the statute. There was no postal system in this colony at the time this act came into operation. Nor did there seem to be any necessity for one. In 1699 Hamilton reported on the proposition to extend the colonial system southward to Virginia.³⁸ He gave it as his opinion that the desire for communication between the northern colonies and Virginia and Maryland was so slight that there would be scarcely one hundred letters a year exchanged, while the cost of the service would be £500 a year. Practically all the correspondence of these southern colonies was with Great Britain and Europe. In the autumn of 1717 the time was thought ripe for the inclusion of the two southern colonies in the colonial postal system. Postmasters were appointed in each colony, couriers conveyed the mails into several of the more populous counties, and a fortnightly exchange was arranged between Williamsburg and Philadelphia. This was satisfactory until the people learned what the charges were and what the monopoly of the post-office meant. Then there was a vigorous clamor of protest.³⁹ Parliament, they declared, could levy no tax

³⁸ Treasury, II. 253 (G. P. O. Record Room).

³⁹ Governor Spotswood to the Board of Trade, June 24, 1718. *Va. Hist. Coll.*, new series, II. 280.

upon them but with the assent of their assembly; and, besides, they maintained that their letters were exempt from the monopoly of the postmaster-general, because they nearly all, in one way or other, related to trade. This was putting an unwarrantably broad interpretation on an exemption, which appears in all post-office acts, in favor of letters relating to goods which the letters accompany on the vessels. It has always been the practice to allow shipmasters, carrying a consignment of goods, to deliver the invoice to the consignee with the goods, in order that the transaction might be completed with convenience. But the scope of the exemption is clearly defined and has never been allowed to include ordinary business letters not accompanying merchandise.

The Virginians however did not leave their case to the uncertain chances of a legal or constitutional argument. They set about nullifying the post-office act by an effective counter measure. The legislature brought in a bill which, while acknowledging the authority of the post-office act, imposed on postmasters certain conditions which it was impossible to fulfill and attached extravagant penalties for the infraction of those conditions. The postmasters were to be fined five pounds for every letter which they demanded from a shipmaster and which the statute exempted from the postmaster-general's exclusive privilege. Now every ship's letter-bag would certainly contain many letters relating to goods on board the ship, as well as many which had nothing to do with goods. But how was the postmaster to distinguish the letters he might rightfully claim for the post-office from those which came within the exemption? With a penalty of five pounds hovering over him for every mistake in judgment his position would be unenviable. Another clause in the bill contained a schedule so exacting that observance of it would have been impossible. In case of failure, which would frequently have been unavoidable, the bill provided a fine of twenty shillings for every letter delayed.⁴⁰ The bill was disallowed by the governor but the legislature achieved its purpose, as the deputy postmaster-general relinquished his attempt to establish a post-office in the colony. It was not until 1732, when the governor, Alexander Spotswood, became deputy postmaster-general, that Virginia was included in the American postal system.

With the exception of this episode, the period of forty years succeeding the act of 1711 produced little that is noteworthy. In 1721 a change was made in the relations between the postmaster-general and the post-office in America, in virtue of which the former

⁴⁰ *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, May, 1718, *passim*.

was relieved of all expense for the maintenance of the American service. On the withdrawal of the deputy postmaster-general, John Hamilton, who was a son of the founder of the American post-office, there were arrears of salary due him amounting to £355. In recommending Hamilton's claim for this amount to the Treasury, the postmaster-general stated that the post-office in America had been put on such a footing that if it produced no profit it would no longer be a charge on the revenue.⁴¹

The line of undistinguished administrators of the post-office in America came to an end in 1753 when Benjamin Franklin was made deputy postmaster-general jointly with William Hunter of Virginia. Besides being a man of pre-eminent practical ability, Franklin had had a large experience in post-office affairs.⁴² He had been postmaster of Philadelphia for sixteen years before his appointment to the deputyship, and for some time before had acted as controller for the whole postal service. The post-office at this time offered a fine field for Franklin's administrative ability. The service had been steadily declining for some years. It took six weeks to make the trip from Philadelphia to Boston and back, and during the three winter months the trips were made but once a fortnight. Franklin and his associate made the service weekly throughout the year, and had the time reduced by one-half.⁴³ There were a number of other improvements introduced. For a time the financial results offered little encouragement. In 1757, when the outlay reached its highest point and the public response to these efforts to accommodate them was still feeble, the post-office was over £900 in debt to the deputy postmasters-general. But the public did not remain unappreciative. Three years later this debt was wiped out and replaced by a surplus of £278. In 1764 the surplus reached £494, and this sum was transmitted to the general post-office in London. The receipt of this first remittance gave great satisfaction to the postmaster-general. For a generation past the post-office in America had been nearly forgotten. It had cost the Treasury nothing since 1721, and it had been allowed to plod along unregarded. Opposite the entry of the receipt in the Treasury Book are the words, "This is the first remittance ever made of its kind."⁴⁴ Thereafter the remittance from the North American post-

⁴¹ August 10, 1722. Treasury, VI. 206-207 (G. P. O. Record Room).

⁴² Franklin was appointed postmaster of Philadelphia in 1737, and deputy postmaster-general in succession to Colonel Spotswood. He was but little in America during his incumbency as deputy postmaster-general. He resided in London as agent for his province from June, 1757, until November, 1762, and from November, 1764, until his dismissal.

⁴³ "The Ledger-Book of Benjamin Franklin", in the Boston Public Library.

⁴⁴ Treasury Letter-Book, 1760-1761, p. 96 (G. P. O. Record Room).

office became an annual occurrence. In his *Autobiography* Franklin observes with pride that at the time of his dismissal the American office yielded a revenue three times that from Ireland.⁴⁵

Franklin's success, judged by reference either to the immediate past of the American service or to the contemporary British service, was remarkable. He showed an early grasp of the truth that monopoly alone does not assure prosperity, and that in order to gain business it was essential to make his service attractive to the public. For the first three years of his administration, the total revenue was £938-16-10; the revenue for 1757 alone was £1151, and this was about the normal revenue for some time. His method was the old simple one, familiar to all men of business. As already stated, he found on entering on his office that it took six weeks for a letter and its answer to pass between Boston and Philadelphia. He at once reduced this time by one-half. But this was not enough. At the beginning of 1764 the post-riders between New York and Philadelphia made three trips each way weekly, and at such a rate of speed that a letter could be sent from one place to the other and the answer received the day following.⁴⁶ In reporting this achievement Franklin stated that the mails travelled by night as well as by day, which had never before been done in America. He planned to have trips of equal speed made between New York and Boston in the spring of that year, and the time for letter and reply between the two places reduced from a fortnight to four days. When his arrangements were completed a letter and reply might pass between Boston and Philadelphia in six days.

It was during this period that the agitation which had been going on upon both sides of the Atlantic for regular packets devoted exclusively to the conveyance of mails was crowned with success. As the troubles which culminated in the Seven Years' War were approaching a head, an appeal was made to the British government by Governors Shirley of Massachusetts, De Lancey of New York, Dinwiddie of Virginia, and Lawrence of Nova Scotia, for a more regular means of communication between the mother-country and the colonies, so that help might be obtained, if required.⁴⁷ The appeal was vigorously supported by the Board of Trade, but the Treasury could not be induced to undertake the expenditure until their eyes were opened by the defeat of Braddock at Fort du Quesne. They were then quite in a mood to approve of a further

⁴⁵ *Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Federal ed.), I. 256.

⁴⁶ Franklin to Todd, January 16, 1764. Smyth, *Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, IV. 215.

⁴⁷ Public Record Office, C. O. 5.

representation of the Board of Trade made on September 18, 1755,⁴⁸ and the postmaster-general was directed that a line of packet-boats should make monthly trips between Falmouth and New York. The vessels employed were of two hundred tons burden, and carried thirty men. The conveyance of merchandise was forbidden. The service was a most expensive one and, when peace was concluded in 1762, the question of its continuance was at once discussed. During the seven years of its course, the New York service cost £62,603, while its revenue in postage was only £12,458. The service was popular, however, and as the efforts of the postmaster-general to lower the cost had been successful and hopes were entertained that the service would be self-sustaining before very long, the Treasury sanctioned the amended terms.⁴⁹

So far as its connections extended, this service was very satisfactory. All the services on the land routes north of Virginia were made subsidiary to the transatlantic service, and all the northern colonies had fairly close communication with the mother-country. But the southern colonies derived little or no benefit from the packets. To remedy this state of things an entire rearrangement of the southern service was made in 1764.⁵⁰ These colonies were withdrawn from the northern service altogether and with the Bahama Islands were erected into a distinct postal division with headquarters at Charleston. The packets from Falmouth, after calling at the West Indies, extended their voyages to Pensacola, Fort St. Augustine, and Charleston, before returning home. As this was found to be too long a route, it was resolved to break up the connection between the mainland and the West Indies, and to have separate monthly packets between Falmouth and Charleston. To secure the greatest measure of advantage from this service a courier was despatched to Savannah and St. Augustine with the mails as soon as they arrived at Charleston from England.

There were thus at the end of British rule in the American colonies three lines of sailing packets carrying mails between England and those colonies—one to New York, another to Charleston, and the third to the West Indies. There was still however a defect in the arrangements. They failed to provide connections between

⁴⁸ Public Record Office, C. O. Bundle 7.

⁴⁹ Treasury, vol. VIII. (G. P. O. Record Room).

⁵⁰ The first deputy postmaster-general for the southern division was Benjamin Barons, who was appointed December 19, 1764. Orders of the Board, II. 126 (G. P. O. Record Room). He resigned on August 26, 1766, and was succeeded by Peter Delancy. The latter was killed in a duel with Dr. John Hale, in August, 1771, and George Roupell was appointed in his stead. The last-named retained office until displaced at the Revolution. Orders of the Board, 1737-1770, II. 211 b.

the several colonial systems except through the mother-country. A letter from New York to Charleston or to the West Indies had to go to London on its way to its destination. To connect the two systems in the mainland, a courier travelled from Charleston to Suffolk, Virginia, where he met the courier from New York. The gap between the West Indian and continental services was filled by small forty-five ton vessels running from Jamaica to Pensacola, and Charleston.⁵¹

A complete survey of the postal service of the colonies in 1774 can be extracted from the *Journal*⁵² of the trip of inspection made by Hugh Finlay in that year. Finlay, who had been postmaster of Quebec since 1763, had just been promoted to the general surveyorship of the northern district. He travelled from Falmouth (now Portland) in the north, to Savannah in the south, inspected all the post-offices, and received communications of all kinds in the course of his journey. From this *Journal* it appears that there was only one route in the country—that between New York and Philadelphia—over which mails were carried as frequently as three times a week. From New York northward to Boston, and thence to Portland, the courier travelled twice weekly each way. Southward from Philadelphia to Suffolk, North Carolina, there was a weekly courier.

In passing from this northern district, which covered the full extent of Franklin's jurisdiction, to the southern district, which was under the control of another deputy postmaster-general, one is struck with the enormous difference between them. Although the service throughout the northern district in no way corresponds with what the greatly improved facilities make possible and even necessary to-day, it still afforded a basis on which improvements would naturally be made. This could not be said of the service in the south. From Suffolk to Charleston, there was a post-road four hundred and thirty-three miles in length. The couriers visited, on the way, the post-towns of Edenton, Bath, New Bern, Wilmington, Brunswick, and Georgetown. They left each end of the route once a fortnight, and took forty-three days to make the through journey. Of these forty-three days, twenty-seven were occupied in travel, while during the remaining sixteen the mails lay at connecting points on the route. The district south of Charleston as far as Savannah and St. Augustine had regular mails only once a month, the courier leaving Charleston on the arrival of the packet from England.

⁵¹ Treasury, vol. II. (G. P. O. Record Room).

⁵² *Journal kept by Hugh Finlay, Surveyor of the Post Roads on the Continent of North America, 1773-1774* (published by Frank H. Norton, Brooklyn, 1867).

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXI.—18.

While Finlay was in the south changes were taking place affecting not only his personal fortunes but the whole colonial postal system. Before he reached New York on his return, Franklin had been dismissed for his connection with the disclosure of the Hutchinson correspondence and Finlay had been appointed to succeed him.⁵³ Franklin was thus set free to place his ability and experience at the service of the colonials in the organization of their postal system. And steps were already being taken towards the establishment of such a system. In March, 1774, the committee of correspondence in Boston wrote to the committee in Salem suggesting that independent postal arrangements be set up, and introducing William Goddard as a suitable man for such an undertaking.⁵⁴ Goddard was the son of the postmaster of New London, and had himself been postmaster of Providence for a period of two years. His mission to Salem was successful, as the committee of that place, replying a few days later to the committee in Boston, declared that the act of the British Parliament establishing a post-office in America was dangerous in principle and demanded peremptory opposition. Goddard had a plan for an independent American post-office⁵⁵ which with the encouragement he received at Boston and Salem, he laid before the committees of correspondence in all the colonies. His proposition was that the colonial post-office should be established and maintained by subscription and that its control should be vested in a committee to be appointed annually by the subscribers. The committee should appoint postmasters and post-riders and fix the rates of postage. The immediate management was to be under the direction of a postmaster-general to be selected by ballot, who should hold his office by a yearly tenure.

But Goddard was not permitted to bring his plan into execution. In September, 1774, the delegates of the colonies assembled in congress at Philadelphia, and by degrees took upon themselves all the functions of government. The question of providing for the speedy and secure conveyance of intelligence was submitted to the congress on May 29 following,⁵⁶ and a committee, of which Franklin was the leading member, was directed to make a report. On July 26,⁵⁷ with the report of the committee before it, the congress resolved to appoint a postmaster-general for the united colonies, whose headquarters should be at Philadelphia, and who was em-

⁵³ Orders of the Board, January 31, 1774.

⁵⁴ March 21, 1774. Pickering Papers, manuscript, in possession of the Mass. Hist. Soc., XXXIX. 38.

⁵⁵ April 4 or 20, 1774. *Ibid.*, XXXIII. 75, 86.

⁵⁶ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II. 71.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

powered to appoint a secretary and as many postmasters as he considered proper. A line of posts should be established from Falmouth (Portland) to Savannah, with as many cross-posts as the postmaster-general thought desirable.

Goddard was a candidate for the position of postmaster-general, but Franklin was chosen. He then sought the secretaryship but disappointment again awaited him. Franklin selected his son-in-law, Bache, for the place. In recognition however of his services in organizing the colonial post-office, he was appointed surveyor of the posts.⁵⁸

Congress, after establishing the colonial post-office, debated the question of suppressing the existing or imperial postal system.⁵⁹ Much was said on both sides, but the question was settling itself more effectually in another fashion. As early as March, 1775, the postmaster-general in London notified his deputies in America that all that was to be expected of them was that they should act with discretion to the best of their judgment.⁶⁰ He ceased to give positive directions. Finlay, who at some personal risk had managed to get to New York, reported that the post-office was doing but little business as the rebels were opening and rifling the mails and were notifying the public that it was unconstitutional to make use of the king's post-office. Finlay foresaw that the post-office could not long continue, and he proposed that the work of distributing the mails should be done on one of the war vessels in New York harbor.⁶¹ At last, on Christmas Day, 1775, the post-office at New York gave notice⁶² that on account of the interruptions to the postal service in several parts of the country, the inland service would cease from that date, and thus was closed the royal post-office in the colonies.

WILLIAM SMITH.

⁵⁸ *Am. Archives*, fourth series, VI. 1012.

⁵⁹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, III. 488.

⁶⁰ *American Letter-Book*, 1773-1783, p. 62 (G. P. O. Record Room).

⁶¹ *Public Record Office*, C. O. 5: 135.

⁶² *Am. Arch.*, fourth series, IV. 453.

AMERICAN COTTON TRADE WITH LIVERPOOL UNDER THE EMBARGO AND NON-INTERCOURSE ACTS

It is generally recognized that the production of cotton in the United States and its manufacture in Lancashire present one of the classic examples of international specialism. At the beginning of the last decade of the eighteenth century both industries were in their infancy. The amount produced in the United States in 1790 is estimated at the comparatively small figure of 1,500,000 pounds.¹ In the following year the imports into Liverpool amounted only to sixty-four bags.² At this time the "mule" was still regarded as a "great and extraordinary" discovery, and was only just beginning to be introduced into Manchester.³ The cotton used for spinning by the recently invented machinery was obtained from the West India Islands, from South America, and from the French island of Bourbon, that from the latter place being the premier cotton for fine yarns, and commanding the highest price in the Liverpool market.⁴ As early as 1795 however American "Georgia" had gained a prominent place among the purchases of a Manchester spinning firm, from whose records the information contained in this article is mainly derived, but, apparently, the resultant product was not wholly satisfactory, as complaints were not infrequent of the yarn spun from the "yellow wool". A Glasgow agent may have summed up the chief objection when, in 1796, he stated that it was new to the manufacturers and consequently they were not fond of it. Three years later however complaint was still made that although "Georgia" produced a stronger yarn than "Bourbon", when spun into numbers over 120^s it was fit only for weft. Notwithstanding the objections, by the beginning of the nineteenth century other growths rarely appeared among the purchases of the firm.⁵

The usual method by which the Manchester cotton spinner obtained his raw cotton at this time was by purchase from a Manchester cotton dealer who sold on long credit. Under this system, the spinner had but a secondary interest in the Liverpool market, but it was customary to receive from a broker weekly letters which

¹ Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 117.

² Smithers, *Liverpool: its Commerce, Statistics and Institutions*, p. 147.

³ *Autobiography of Robert Owen*, p. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵ An account of this firm and its business relationships is given in the *Economic Journal*, June, 1915. See also *Autobiography of Robert Owen*, p. 23, and Smiles, *Industrial Biography*, pp. 381-388.

contained information relating to imports, prices, purchases, etc. These brokers, or commission agents as they are better termed, occupied an important place in regard to Liverpool transactions. Cotton was only one of numerous imported articles concerning which they kept their clients informed; they also received goods, arranged for shipments, and effected insurances. Moreover, the system was not peculiar to Liverpool; it obtained on the Continent and in America. The agents formed the commercial links and the intelligence department of the economic system. By means of their periodic reports buyers and sellers received information of the various markets in which they were interested, and, by availing themselves of the services of the agents, could safely effect transactions in them without the necessity of having a full-time representative on the spot. When a Charleston or Savannah commission agent informed prospective clients by a circular of his knowledge of his market, and expressed his readiness to purchase and ship cotton or other staple products and to sell goods which might be consigned to him, he summed up the function of a great body of men situated in all parts of the commercial world. The periodic reports of these agents contain much interesting information concerning the conditions of the time, but, unfortunately, the above-mentioned firm did not begin to receive them from a Charleston agent until January, 1807. At the end of this year the strained relations of the United States and Great Britain developed into the breach which was not repaired until December, 1814, when the treaty of Ghent was signed. During this period the correspondence was intermittent, ceasing altogether during 1808 and again before the declaration of war in 1812, but from the Charleston reports, supplemented by others received from a Savannah agent, along with those of Liverpool brokers, it is possible to get a fairly consecutive account of the state of the cotton market on both sides of the Atlantic during the period of trade restriction.

The causes of the trouble are well known and require no explanation. It is sufficient to say that the French Decrees and the British Orders in Council had imposed serious restrictions and losses upon neutral powers, which, owing to the position occupied by the United States, fell heaviest upon them and called forth retaliation. The measures adopted for this purpose were as follows:⁶

December 22, 1807. Embargo Act by which the United States ports were closed to foreign commerce.

⁶ Committee on Orders in Council, *Reports*, 1812, p. 258; *Cambridge Modern History*, VII.

March 4, 1808. Embargo removed and a Non-Intercourse Act substituted by which trade with France, Great Britain, their colonies and dependencies was prohibited.

April 19, 1809. Erskine treaty by which trade with Great Britain was reopened.

August 10, 1809. Non-intercourse with Great Britain consequent upon the non-ratification of the Erskine treaty by the British government.

May 1, 1810. Non-Intercourse Act repealed but a power vested in the President to renew it against the belligerent which refused to rescind its restrictive measures after revocation by the other.

February 2, 1811. Non-Importation Act by which the entry of British goods was prohibited.

April 4, 1812. Embargo reimposed.

June 19, 1812. War declared with Great Britain.

A glance at these measures will show that they differed in stringency. Obviously the most stringent was the Embargo Act which was superseded by the Non-Intercourse Act. This measure would appear to be sufficiently severe, but, judging from the imports of cotton into Liverpool during its operation, it does not seem to have been very effective. Much more effective, apparently, was the Non-Importation Act which followed upon the brief open-trade period in 1810, but at this time circumstances had developed, which will be noticed later, that supplemented its operation. The imports of United States cotton into Liverpool from 1806 to 1814 are given in the following table:⁷

Bags.		Bags.	
1806	100,273	1811	97,626
1807	143,756	1812	79,528
1808	25,426	1813	18,640
1809	130,581	1814	40,448
1810	199,220		

From these figures it is apparent that the imports in 1807 were very large compared with the previous year, and it is also clear that advantage was taken of the diminished restrictions in 1809 and 1810 to import on a large scale. These facts are of some significance in relation to the trend of prices in the Liverpool market during the restriction period. Some mention will be made of this later but this article is mainly concerned with the state of affairs in the American market.

⁷ Smithers, *Liverpool*, p. 147. The figures given by Smithers correspond with the annual statement of imports sent by Liverpool brokers to their clients. They were obtained from the Custom House.

Throughout 1807 the Charleston agent forwarded regular reports to the Manchester firm and in this year it does not appear that hindrances to trade in cotton were much experienced. It was not until December that mention was made of gloomy times ahead.⁸ One or two interesting items of information appear in the reports, which may be noticed, regarding local influences which affected the Charleston market. In March cotton was not very plentiful in the market and prices were expected to rise. The lack was not due to an actual scarcity but to the badness of the roads, which at the time were impassable. In November a reduction of price was anticipated but not until some quantity of the new crop came down, which would not take place until much rain had fallen, as the rivers were too low for the boats to get along. In considering the prospect of crops, caterpillars and hurricanes seem to have presented almost as much difficulty as the rainfall. In almost every report, mention was made of the decreased quantity of Sea Island cotton which was likely to come to market in the future. The reason was that many of the Sea Island planters had ceased planting the black seed and were concentrating on the green seed. Taking Charleston and Savannah together, it was estimated that one-half of the planters had adopted this course, which was expected to reduce the crop by one-third or even one-half. The explanation of the change was that the upland variety produced nearly as much again, was more hardy, could be prepared in half the time—as a saw-gin was used—and always commanded a ready sale. Two years later it appears that the movement was still taking place, and in the opinion of the Charleston agent, judging from the following passage, the effects were likely to be permanent:

A large proportion of the low-country planters are going on Bowed, in fact, almost all those who were in the habit of raising the coarse quality of Sea Island. We think this will be extended every year, and in the end, will give us three distinct species of cotton, particularly, as those who now plant Sea Island are taking more pains in changing the seed annually, which makes the cotton finer, and are giving more time and pains in cleaning. We shall then have as the first quality, the prime Sea Island, as the second, the Bowed grown on the sea-coast, in prime order, and lots of one growth, and improved in staple, and as the last, the common run of upper-country cotton which has been generally shipped under the name of Upland.

During 1808, as already mentioned, no reports were received from the agent; in fact, he spent a portion of the year visiting his clients

⁸ It will be remembered of course that the most vigorous British Order in Council and the Milan Decree, as well as the American embargo, were all imposed during the last two months of this year.

in England. From the table given above, it appears however that considerable exports to Liverpool must have been made notwithstanding the embargo. Probably much of the amount can be accounted for by cotton despatched before the measure was imposed not arriving at Liverpool until the early part of the following year. It was customary for the Liverpool broker to state the arrivals in his weekly reports, and while it is true that vessels from America are mentioned until the end of June, after the first few weeks of the year the amounts are small, and after the date mentioned they cease altogether until the beginning of 1809.

Writing at the beginning of January of that year, the Charleston agent expresses great disappointment that the embargo had not been raised at the meeting of Congress in November. During the summer the result had been anticipated and as a consequence prices had not fallen as low as might have been expected. So strong was the belief, that before Congress met a considerable increase had taken place, which was followed by a corresponding fall on receipt of the President's message, "while every article of importation rose beyond calculation". Whatever stringency the embargo had previously caused, it is apparent that at this time it was rapidly disappearing. In his letter the agent states that vessels were breaking the law every week, many having forfeited their bonds and sailed for Liverpool at the end of December and the beginning of January. The record of arrivals by the Liverpool broker corroborates the statement. From January a steady arrival of ships is reported until June, when it became a rush. In letters dated June 16 and 23 arrivals to the extent of 28,227 bags are mentioned: an amount far in excess of the number reported during the whole of the previous year. The rush is explained of course by the Erskine treaty, which was supposed to come into operation on June 10. During the existence of the embargo, large stocks had been bought on speculation in the Charleston market, and although so much had been despatched, the agent reported that the quantity was far less than it would have been had not heavy freight checked shipments. During the next two months this difficulty was removed but the market remained stagnant. Those who had bought at low prices awaited information regarding the state of the Liverpool market. By the end of July news had been received of the non-ratification of the Erskine treaty, and in August the Non-Intercourse Act came into operation. At this time the position in the Charleston market was that much cotton remained on hand from the two previous crops, the forthcoming crop was expected to be exceptionally good, and prices were

anticipated below what had obtained during the period of the embargo.

Under these circumstances, coupled with the fact that news had arrived from Liverpool concerning the recovery of prices which took place when it was known that the Erskine treaty would not be ratified, it is not surprising to learn that strenuous efforts began to be made to ship cotton by indirect routes. The Charleston agent had no doubt that shipments would be made via Amelia Island, Lisbon, Cadiz, Fayal, etc., where British vessels would be met as well as many Americans sailing under Spanish colors. From later correspondence it is evident that his opinion was justified, and also his view that some individuals "who had no character to lose" would ship direct. All the other routes taken together do not seem to have attained the importance of that via Amelia Island. Immediately after the imposition of the Non-Intercourse Act, a representative of the agent was stationed at this place and difficulty in making shipments does not seem to have been very great. The greatest was the lack of ships and consequent heavy freight, and, of course, several extra charges had to be met. Freight from Charleston to Amelia cost one cent per pound, insurance one and a half per cent., agent's commission one per cent., and on the island a duty of one dollar and a half had to be paid.⁹ The most frequent freight from Charleston to Liverpool in 1807 was $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound, from Amelia to Liverpool it rarely seems to have been lower than $3d.$, and in December, 1809, $4d.$ is recorded. Early in the next year the agent reported that great difficulty was being experienced in securing any transport at all, as the majority of the ships which arrived came with specific orders. The following table gives some details regarding the Charleston market in 1807 and 1809. The 1809 prices, it will be noticed, reflect the conditions indicated. At the beginning of the year the embargo prices are revealed. Then we see the effect of the Erskine treaty, causing a rise sufficient to induce holders to unload some of their stocks. The rise is checked as the Non-Intercourse Act comes into operation but a recovery takes place as indirect trade develops. The prices compare rather badly with those for 1807 but, at any rate, the indirect trade helped to avert the result anticipated, that a lower level would be reached than obtained under the embargo:

⁹ The commission charged by Charleston and Savannah agents for purchasing cotton was five per cent. A detailed account of a shipment from Charleston is given in the article in the *Economic Journal*.

	Upland, Price per Lb.		Sea Island, Price per Lb. ¹⁰		Charleston to Liverpool, Freight per Lb.		Exchange on London	
	1807	1809	1807	1809	1807	1809	1807	1809
January.....	<i>Cents</i> 19	<i>Cents</i> 11 to 12	<i>Cents</i> 42	<i>Cents</i> 20 to 24	<i>Pence</i> 1½	<i>Pence</i>	2½% under par	9% to 10% over par
February.....	.....	12-12½	.....	20-25	.....	.....	.....	.....
March.....	19	.....	38	.....	1½	.....	par	.....
April.....	20	.....	42	.....	1¾	.....	par	.....
May.....	18½	14	44	30	2¼	3 to 3½	par	2½% over par
June.....	20	14-14½	42	30	2¼	1¾	par	.....
July.....	.....	13-14	.....	26-28	.....	1½	.....	2½%-3% over par
August.....	.....	12½	.....	25-27	.....	2-2½	.....	5% over par
September.....	.....	12	.....	22-25	.....	.....	.....	3%-5% over par
October.....	.....	12	.....	23-26	.....	.....	.....	2½%-4% over par
November....	18	13	34	25-26	1½	.....	2½% over par	2½%-4% over par
December....	18½	13	34	27-28	1½	.....	par	par

On May 1, 1810, the Non-Intercourse Act was repealed and open trade with Great Britain obtained until the act prohibiting the importation of British goods came into operation on February 2, 1811. Notwithstanding the statement of the Charleston agent regarding the difficulty of procuring freight at the beginning of 1810, the reports of the Liverpool broker show continuous arrivals of cotton, not only by indirect routes but also direct from the United States. From the commencement of the year to the beginning of June, over 40,000 bags were reported. Afterwards, direct vessels began to arrive regularly, bringing large supplies, which continued into the first few months of the next year, and then gradually declined as the effects of the Non-Importation Act were experienced. Before this act came into force, President Madison, it will be remembered, served three months' notice on the British government, threatening restrictive measures if the Orders in Council were not repealed. In view of this fact, the statements that at the end of December, 1810, the Charleston and Savannah ports were crowded with shipping, that freight had risen to 2½*d.* per pound, and that cotton was being pushed off as rapidly as possible, require no explanation. Upland cotton at this time was selling at 15½ to 16 cents, and Sea Island at 28 to 32 cents per pound, with the exchanges at five per cent. below par.

During 1810 the state of the exchanges had become a great source of grievance to the Charleston agent, and in December, the

¹⁰ In 1807 the prices of Sea Island were given in pence. They have been changed into cents by allowing two for each penny.

situation had so developed that he could not see the least prospect of amendment "owing to the very great scarcity of money in New York and Philadelphia", which he considered was due mainly to the refusal to renew the charter of the Bank of the United States. During the next year his opinion regarding the prospect of amendment was more than justified, though his explanation may not be sufficiently comprehensive. The position in March, 1811, is described in a letter from a Savannah agent. After lamenting that the Bank charter had been allowed to expire he proceeds:

We are allowed to export to Great Britain our own Produce in our own Ships, but that if either her Ships, Produce, or Manufactures are found within our waters they are subject to confiscation; this is a situation which I believe no other country was ever placed in, to be allowed to send all Produce to a place where nothing could be received in return. Bills on England have in consequence of these and other circumstances become unsaleable, or when sold it is at a very considerable Discount from the par of Exchange, in some instances, 10 to 12 per cent. Business, of course, is almost entirely at a stand, there are few Purchasers in the market and Prices merely nominal.

In February the Charleston agent had reported that trade had become stagnant and that cotton was fast accumulating in the warehouses. Upland cotton had fallen to 12½ cents per pound, but less impression had been made upon Sea Island, owing to the small crop, which may, perhaps, be attributed to the fact mentioned earlier in this article. It may also be noticed that freight had come down to the usual 1½*d.* per pound. In April he returns to the question of the exchanges, stating that

the sale of Exchange has always been extremely limited here and lately we have not been able to pass even the most trifling sums at any discount that could be offered. In the Northern States also where we have hitherto had it in our power to get through the largest negotiations, they write us that since the loss of the Bank Charter it is impossible for them to undertake the sales of the most limited sums in Sterling Bills, as they cannot possibly sell to meet drafts.

As a consequence, no purchases were being made, and the stock of Upland was larger than he had ever known it before. The only hope was to discover some new mode of negotiating bills but "in the present general want of mercantile confidence we think it vain to look for new when the old have failed".

The last letter written by this agent to the Manchester firm, dated June 20, 1811, confirms the one sent in April, and states

that so far from greater facilities existing the pressure of the time is becoming greater daily, in consequence we see no probability of ship-

ments of cotton taking place at present. Such indeed is the state of things that unless some remarkable change takes place which will give a sale for bills on England, the cotton now left as well as the next crop must remain with the Planters.

At this time Upland could be bought at 12 to 12½ cents, and Sea Island at 20 to 23 cents per pound, the exchange standing at a nominal seven per cent. below par. In September the Savannah agent appears to reach a climax by stating that "at present we cannot quote prices as we have no purchasers in the market and everything is in a state of stagnation". The following figures, culled from the reports, are interesting as showing the exports of cotton in bags from Charleston to British ports during these trying months:

	October 29, 1810, to December 29, 1810	December 30, 1810, to February 2, 1811	February 2, 1811, to April 20, 1811	April 20, 1811, to June 15, 1811
Liverpool.....	13,487	8,169	6,168	2,785
Greenock.....	4,206	2,539	.....	2,109
Belfast.....	1,170	1,215	987	.....
London.....	577	978	441	311
Bristol.....	140	.....	.....	.....
Hull.....	40	.....	40	.....
Falmouth.....	.....	349	.....	.....
Londonderry.....	.....	140	.....	.....
Dublin.....	.....	.....	847	295
Newry.....	.....	.....	150	.....
Totals.....	19,620	13,390	8,633	5,500

After the letter sent in September correspondence between the Savannah agent and the Manchester firm evidently ceased for nearly three years, as no letters either from or to him are found in the records. In April, 1815, it was renewed and the first communication contains some matter of sufficient interest to justify quotation:

Peace having taken place between this and Great Britain we take the liberty of renewing our correspondence with you, and to offer our services as commission merchants in the purchase of cotton, and the disposal of goods which you may address to our care. Should you direct us to make purchases of cotton on your account, we would recommend you to nominate some substantial house at the northward to endorse our Bills on you and dispose of them there, and on whom we could pass drafts for purchases made, with greater facility than disposing of our Bills on you here. This practice has been pursued here and has been found to answer every purpose. The quantity of cotton on hand here when the Peace was ratified was the remains of the three last crops, and may be estimated at about seventy thousand bags. A great part of this cotton is still at Augusta but is coming down daily; it is principally Upland cotton; the Sea Island was nearly all shipped to England by way of Amelia. We do not presume the next crop will be so abundant as in

former years owing to a great part of the lands in the up-country being cultivated in wheat that were formerly cultivated in cotton. On the sea-board the depredations committed by the enemy will prevent the usual quantity of Sea Island cotton being cultivated; the planters are, however, making every exertion to get as much as possible planted; much will, however, depend upon the seasons of which we will not fail to advise you from time to time.

The above extracts indicate the position in the American cotton market in 1811 so clearly, and also suggest the causes, that little comment is necessary. The Charleston agent evidently found the main source of the difficulties in the lack of opportunity for negotiating bills, and considered that this was due, almost entirely, to the lapse of the Bank charter. Without ignoring this cause, a more comprehensive view would be taken at the present day in an explanation of the situation. The monetary position in England, where the price of gold, already fourteen per cent. above the mint price in 1809, had increased by another six per cent. in 1811, would have to be taken into account.¹¹ But, with the evidence given in England to the 1812 committee on the Orders in Council before us, probably the greatest emphasis would be laid on the effect of the Non-Importation Act. Accepting the state of affairs which obtained when this act came into operation, and ignoring the causes of the imbroglio, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it was the most fundamental factor in creating the difficulties to trading between the United States and Great Britain in 1811. This act appears to have been rigidly enforced, for, although efforts were made to introduce goods by circuitous routes, notably by the familiar route of Amelia Island and through Canada, they do not appear to have been very successful.¹² The declared value of the exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures to the United States in 1811 amounted to less than £2,000,000 compared with almost £11,000,000 in the previous year.¹³

In this article only a brief reference can be made to the state of the Liverpool market during this period of trade restriction with the United States. How the measures adopted by the American government affected prices may be seen from the table given below. In considering these prices the large imports of 1807, 1809, and 1810 should be remembered, also that the import from Brazil which amounted to 3540 bags in 1808 had increased to 103,248 bags in

¹¹ Porter, *Progress of the Nation* (1912, rev. ed.), p. 499.

¹² Much evidence to this effect was given before the Committee on Orders in Council, *Reports*, 1812. See, for instance, evidence of Mr. Thornely, p. 344 *et seq.*

¹³ Porter, p. 479.

1814. Many references are to be found in the literature of the time relating to the large stocks of cotton at Liverpool.¹⁴ The prices, while they are actual market prices relating to the same qualities of cotton so far as can be ascertained from brokers' weekly reports, have been chosen to show the trend of prices throughout the period, ignoring as far as possible the temporary fluctuations which repeatedly occurred on receipt of news true or otherwise. Rumors were always in the air that the United States were either about to remove the restrictions, increase their stringency, or impose new ones. It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that throughout the period speculation was rampant, and it is more than probable that a Liverpool broker offered a correct explanation of many fluctuations when, in one of his reports, he attributed a depression of prices to the gambling business that was taking place in the market more than to any other cause.

From the commencement of the war with Great Britain in 1812, it is evident however that a cessation of hostilities was expected at any time. From the latter months of 1813, when it became known that the power of Napoleon had received a severe shock, to the signing of the treaty of Ghent, rumors became increasingly prevalent, and in this period speculation ruled prices rather than exercised an influence upon them. The state of affairs is exactly described in a pamphlet written in 1816 by a Liverpool broker who was actually in the midst of things.¹⁵ After referring to the arrival of the news regarding the defeat of the French at Leipzig he continues:

No sooner was this news known than an immediate speculation took place in buying goods not only in Manchester, but by numbers of houses in Liverpool in buying cotton, as there was nothing *equal to cotton* to speculate upon, not only regular merchants, but brokers, grocers, corn merchants, timber merchants, tobacconists, coopers, etc., etc. By this speculation cottons were run up beyond all bounds, which not only seriously injured the manufactures, but many of the speculators became themselves heavy sufferers, and almost every artifice was adopted to raise unfounded reports which got inserted in the London newspapers as news from Liverpool, but which had no other foundation than merely report without cause. Then came on the meeting at Ghent of the negotiators from this country and America, and during the time they were there, it was a famous handle for fabrications by which many commercial men were great sufferers, it being believed that the Americans at Ghent had their particular friends in this country, to whom they might give a

¹⁴ Smithers, *Liverpool*, p. 141; Orders in Council, *Reports*, 1808, p. 104; Hansard, June 29, 1813; *Times*, April 5, 1813.

¹⁵ *Remarks on Cotton and Retrospective Occurrences for more than Thirty-six Years last past*, by John Slack, Cotton Broker and Accountant, Liverpool. A short account of the writer of this pamphlet is given in Ellison, *Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, pp. 243-246.

hint, if they would keep a secret, on which it was conjectured that some had acted. . . . When any news was circulated that breathed difficulties to any adjustment then cotton was immediately on the advance and buyers coming to Liverpool.

That there is no exaggeration in this account is borne out by the reports sent by Liverpool brokers to their Manchester clients.

PRICES OF AMERICAN COTTON IN THE LIVERPOOL MARKET, 1807-1814¹⁶

	1807		1808		1809		1810	
	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island
January	16-17	25-26 $\frac{1}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -14	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ -29	31 $\frac{1}{2}$ -32	69	21-22	28 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30
February	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ -17 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-28	14-16	26 $\frac{1}{2}$ -29	27-28 $\frac{1}{2}$	57	18-18 $\frac{1}{2}$	26-29 $\frac{1}{2}$
March	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ -19	27-29	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30	25-27	48	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-26
April	17-17 $\frac{1}{2}$	28-30	15-16	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30	18-20	33-34	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-26
May	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ -17 $\frac{1}{2}$	27-28	18-19 $\frac{1}{2}$	28-31 $\frac{1}{2}$	16-16 $\frac{1}{2}$	27-30	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-26
June	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ -17 $\frac{1}{2}$	27-28	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ -19	27	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15	24 $\frac{3}{4}$ -27	14 $\frac{1}{4}$ -16	23-24 $\frac{1}{2}$
July	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ -18	26-27	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22	29-36	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-28 $\frac{3}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{4}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-25
August	15-16 $\frac{1}{2}$	26-27	21-22 $\frac{1}{2}$	36-42	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ -17	27-27 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{3}{4}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	23-24
September	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-26 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-30	36-42	16-18	24-26	13 $\frac{3}{4}$ -16	22-25
October	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-27	31-33	48	18-19	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	13-14 $\frac{1}{2}$	23-24 $\frac{1}{2}$
November	13-14 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-26	30-31 $\frac{1}{2}$	52	19-21 $\frac{1}{2}$	28-29 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -14 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -26
December	13-14	24-26	31-32	52-60	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22	29-30	12-14	23-24

	1811		1812		1813		1814	
	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island
January	12-13 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25 $\frac{1}{2}$	14-16 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-27 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25	30-35	29 $\frac{1}{2}$ -31	42-48
February	11 $\frac{1}{4}$ -13	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ -26	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -24 $\frac{1}{2}$	35-37	Reports missing	Reports missing
March	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22	13 $\frac{3}{4}$ -15 $\frac{3}{4}$	22-23	22-24	35-39	33-34	46-49
April	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13	22-23	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -14 $\frac{3}{4}$	21-22	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -24	34-36	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ -31	46-47
May	11 $\frac{1}{4}$ -13	20-23	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15	22-24	22-23 $\frac{1}{4}$	34-36	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30	44-48
June	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ -12 $\frac{1}{2}$	19-21	14-15	23-24	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22 $\frac{1}{2}$	32-36	24-26	36-44
July	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ -12 $\frac{3}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ -20 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ -15	21 $\frac{3}{4}$ -24	21-22	32-34	24 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25	36-39 $\frac{1}{2}$
August	11-12 $\frac{3}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ -21	14-15 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25 $\frac{1}{2}$	22-23	33-36	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ -27	39 $\frac{1}{2}$ -45
September	11 $\frac{1}{4}$ -12 $\frac{3}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ -21 $\frac{3}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25	21 $\frac{3}{4}$ -22 $\frac{1}{2}$	35-37	29 $\frac{1}{4}$ -33	42-51
October	11-12 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ -19 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ -18 $\frac{1}{2}$	27-30	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -24 $\frac{1}{4}$	33-37	26 $\frac{1}{2}$ -28	42-44
November	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13 $\frac{1}{4}$	18 $\frac{3}{4}$ -22	17 $\frac{1}{4}$ -18 $\frac{1}{4}$	28-29	22 $\frac{1}{4}$ -26	36-40	28 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30	48-60
December	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ -15	25-26 $\frac{1}{2}$	21-21 $\frac{1}{2}$	33-36	27-30	39-45	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ -26	42-48

G. W. DANIELS.

¹⁶ The prices are given in pence.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

IN the organization of the office of chief executive of great colonial dependencies is involved a political problem of the first magnitude. The responsibilities of the government of an alien race, often permeated with discontent and difficult to control, require the deposit in the local executive of great and impressive powers, but there must be assurance that these powers will be exercised in subordination to the will of the home government and in accord with standards of humane and enlightened policy. Public opinion in a dependency cannot be relied upon for control and is always characterized by moods of hostility. Public opinion, and frequently official opinion, in the metropolitan country is usually ill informed and incapable of imagination. The history of certain of these great offices, like the viceroy of India, or the governor-general of Dutch India or French Indo-China, perfectly illustrates the dilemma. It exhibits both the evils of entrusting undisciplined authority to officers imperfectly responsible, and also the spectacle of rare capacity made impotent by a superior control that was distrustful, jealous, and incapable of allowing adequate discretion.

Of the several impressive offices of this character still existent in the modern world, not the least in importance and the oldest in point of history is under the sovereignty of the United States, and the recurring problem of its organization, which baffled Spanish political effort for more than three centuries, now occupies the attention of American statesmanship.

The office of governor and captain-general of the Philippines was created by royal cedula of King Philip II. in 1567, immediately upon receipt of news of the successful occupation of the archipelago, and was conferred upon the *adelantado* and conqueror of the islands, Don Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. For the space of two hundred years it underwent little development but continued to illustrate perhaps more clearly than any other similar position in the Spanish colonial empire the typical character and vicissitudes of the institution. Then toward the close of the eighteenth century it shared in those important administrative changes which in America are associated with the work of Galvez. It entered on a third phase of its history after the loss of the Spanish-American empire and from about 1840 down to 1897 was, together with the

whole body of colonial administration, the object of constant solicitude and modification. This period is most instructive because it exhibits a great office facing the modern difficulties of colonial government, and after decades of contest ending in failure to sustain the sovereignty of Spain.

Continued under American occupation, the governor-generalship of the Philippines exists to-day as one of the disturbing but great and magnetic positions upon which depend the efforts of the white race to control the political future of tropical peoples. It is proposed in this paper to view this office in outline in its several periods and offer some reflections based on a comparison of Spanish and American experience.

The office of Philippine governor was created on the model which had originated in Spain and been developed in the New World. Seventy-three years intervened between the first voyage of Columbus and the definite occupation of the Philippines, and in this period the Spaniards had had some exceptionally severe lessons and gained much hard experience in colonial empire. This American experience was behind the Philippine conquest and determined its character. The institutions whereby Spain for 250 years governed her vast empire were carried as a nearly completed system to the Philippines. A great body of law defining the powers and relations of colonial officers already existed and was put into effect in the new possession. Thus the Philippines were spared a repetition of the periods of extravagant waste of life and accompanying disorder that fill the early pages of the history of most Spanish-American colonies. The list of governors exhibits not a few who were weak and inept but no Ovando nor Pedrarias.

During the period of conquest and settlement of the Philippines America was relied on to supply most of the Philippine governors, and not a few had developed in those remarkable training schools of colonial officials, the audiencias of the New World. The *adelantado* Legazpi, a model of courage, prudence, and humane moderation, was appointed to lead the expedition that effected the conquest from the post of *escribano mayor* and *alcalde ordinario* of Mexico; Sande (1575-1580) was an *oidor* of the audiencia of New Spain, and Gonzalo Ronquillo (1580-1583) and Dr. de Vera (1584-1590), officials of the same government. Bravo de Acuña (1602-1606) had been governor of Cartagena, Hurtado de Corcuera (1635-1644) governor of Panama, Manrique de Lara (1653-1663) *castellano* of Acapulco, and Torre Campo (1721-1729) governor of Guatemala.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXI.—19.

Another field of promotion to the post of Philippine governor was the army in Flanders. Between 1609 and 1678 at least six governors, Juan de Silva (1609-1616), Fajardo y Tenza (1615-1624), Niño de Tabora (1626-1632), Salcedo (1663-1668), a native of Brussels, Manuel de Leon (1669-1677), a hero of Lützen and Nördlingen, and Vargas Hurtado (1678-1684), were appointed from Spanish armies serving in the Low Countries. Several of these men were nobles or members of distinguished orders. To the intrepid and ambitious soldiers and lawyers of that day the Philippine appointment unquestionably appeared an opportunity for audacious service in the East and a stepping-stone to higher rewards in the great offices of the New World, but the vast distance, the hardships of the long voyage, the tropical disease that assailed so many, and the bitter trials of the office itself wore out these men, with rare exceptions, and hardly one returned. Few indeed like Manrique de Lara were able to endure a long term of service (in his case the unprecedented period of ten years), and the persecutions of a severe *residencia*, and return to Spain to die of old age in his native Malaga. To most the Philippine appointment was the end.

The selection of the governor was personally made by the king from a list of officers proposed by the Council of the Indies. When Niño de Tabora was appointed not less than ten names were proposed, including one man, de Vivero, who had served an interim appointment as governor at Manila and returned to the governorship of Panama.¹ To read the terse *dossiers* of these nominees is to see outlined in a few words the adventurous lives of the Spanish conquerors in the New World and the wide field of services presented by Spain's amazing empire.

The appointment was set for eight years but, in case the governor survived, it sometimes extended to nine or ten. The average however was low and drew frequent unfavorable comment, especially when contrasted with the long periods of service of the dignitaries of the Church.

During the latter part of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, when Spanish national life sank after the exhausting efforts of a hundred years of stupendous conquest, emigration to the islands nearly ceased, commercial restrictions checked economic development, and torpor succeeded the intense energy of an earlier time. In this situation the governorship was repeatedly conferred upon the Archbishop of Manila or one of the other

¹ "Report of the council on the appointment of a governor of the Philippines", 1625, Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, XXII. 27.

prelates. After the eighteenth century the governor of the Philippines was nearly always a military or a naval officer of high rank.

In the beginning, the Philippines were regarded as an outpost for further eastern conquests; the Spice Islands and Malacca, the coasts of Siam and Indo-China were all essayed by Spanish expeditions, and designs of conquest of Japan and China filled the feverish brains of some of these daring exiles. But the sparse population of the archipelago, less than a million natives and only a few hundred Spaniards, the insufficiency of revenues, and the enormous difficulties of Pacific transport eventually enforced a policy of economy and extreme simplicity of administration. The governor represented the all-embracing authority of the king. He was governor of the civil administration, appointed the provincial chiefs, or *alcaldes mayores*, and, except where these officers received royal appointments, the other administrative officials. As civil head he sent and received embassies from the countries of the East and made peace and war. As captain-general he commanded all the armed forces in the colony, equipped fleets to invade the Moluccas or repel the pirates of Mindanao, built or repaired the fortifications of Manila and the naval yard of Cavite, and built and despatched the "Acapulco Galleon", eventually the sole communication with Mexico and Spain. The perilous situation of the colony, the menace of China and Japan, the struggle for the Moluccas, the centuries of Malay piracy, and the incursions of the Dutch gave great prominence to the military responsibilities and the functions of the governor as captain-general. He had full responsibility for the revenues, nominated to *encomiendas* until these grants disappeared in the eighteenth century, and established the *estancos* or government monopolies. He also allotted the *boletas* or tickets entitling the holder to cargo space on the Acapulco galleon. As vice-patron and representative of the king, he nominated to church benefices and controlled the financial support of the missions. For the discharge of these numerous services he had relatively few assistants. A royal treasurer, an accountant, a factor, the fiscal of the audiencia, a *teniente del rey*, who commanded the military plaza of Manila, and the field-marshal and captains of his army were the usual officers. The audiencia, definitely established in 1595, served both as a supreme court with civil and criminal jurisdiction and as an administrative and legislative commission. Of this body the governor was president until 1844 and his relations to it form an interesting study.

The policy of Spain was to make the office of governor one of

impressive dignity. He was the personal representative of the king and, so far as the slender resources of Manila permitted, lived in state. The official ceremonies attending his arrival and induction into office were elaborately prescribed. A guard of halberdiers attended him when he walked abroad,² and a mounted escort when he rode. These formalities, however inconsistent with the actual resources of the position, were highly esteemed by the Spaniards. A complaint filed by the audiencia with the king against the governor, Tello de Guzman, in 1598, has mainly to do with the offense of attending a meeting of that body in a short, colored coat and a hat with plumes.³

While encouraging and abetting the heroic enterprises of her expatriated sons, Spain early sought to provide balances and restrictions to their overtopping ambitions. These attempted limitations can perhaps nowhere be better studied than in the history of the Philippines, where the remoteness of the colony and the difficulty of Spanish supervision occasioned situations of the most sensational character. Some of the practices used as checks by the Spanish government would not be approved by the more advanced experience of the present day, but they are at least characteristic of the thought of the period, which was singularly distrustful and counted no public servant too loyal or exalted to be watched and restrained.

In the first place, Spanish officialdom encouraged direct report on the policy and character of the governor from subordinate officials and from the ecclesiastical administration. From the foundation of the colony at Manila other royal officials than the governor wrote directly to the king. Of the first expedition to settle the Philippines, Legazpi, the treasurer Lavezaris, and the factor Mirandaola all wrote independently to Philip II. The fiscal Ayala in 1589 wrote expressing complaints both of civil and ecclesiastical administration. The *ayuntamiento* of Manila in 1601 registered its grievances against the *oidor* and lieutenant-governor, Dr. Antonio Morga. A letter of Bishop Santibañez of 1598 informs the king that Governor Tello de Guzman had called together all the honorable people, even to the master of camp, and all the captains, and while they stood bareheaded berated them worse than he would his cobbler: "You don't realize that I can have all your heads cut off, and you think that I don't know that you have written to the king against me." "Your majesty", says the bishop in another letter,

² The antique halberds of this guard, which was suppressed in 1868, were part of the military trophies of the American army after the capture of Manila. The writer saw a number of them then.

³ "Report of the audiencia on the conduct of Tello", Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, X. 183.

"should not inquire into the particular vices of Don Francisco Tello, but should picture to yourself the universal idea of all vices, brought to the utmost degree and placed in a lawyer". "If one were to seek faithfully over all Spain for a man of most debauched conscience, even the vilest and most vicious, to come to this country and corrupt it with his example, there could not be found one more so than he."⁴

It does not appear that the Council of the Indies or the king ever followed the practice of acquainting the governor with such attacks as these upon his policy or his character, nor do they appear to have been moved thereby to any decisive action, but we must suppose that they had their effect in creating distrust at the Spanish court, undermining its confidence in the governor, and weakening the loyal support of his efforts. Modern administration follows the principle of requiring official correspondence between the government of a dependency and the home authorities to proceed within the cognizance of the chief executive of the dependency, and present-day standards of loyalty and of subordination forbid irresponsible criticism, but Spain proceeded upon the different principle of setting subordinates to watch their superiors, and trusted to jealousy, pique, and self-interest to expose the deficiencies or corrupt character of those set in authority.

The legitimate balance upon the powers of the governor was the audiencia. The Audiencia of Manila was created on the American model, and was the tenth to be established by the Spanish government in their organization of empire.⁵ It was first erected in 1584 under the presidency of the governor, Dr. Santiago de Vera, but was suppressed largely for reasons of economy in 1590, and re-established in 1598 by a royal decree dated November 26, 1595. On the vacancy of the office of governor the audiencia regularly assumed the duties of the position, the direction of military affairs being confided to the *maestre de campo*, or more usually to one member of the audiencia.⁶ It had the power to grant *encomiendas* of Indians if the governor neglected this duty. It reported annually on the operation of local government and was a board for the audit of accounts, and for the taking of the *residencia* of subordinate officials.⁷ Sitting as a consultative chamber of (*sala de real*

⁴ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, X, 147, 156.

⁵ *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*, libro II., tit. xv, ley xi.

⁶ *Recop.*, libro II., tit. xv, leyes lvii, lviii.

⁷ A brief but clear account of the functions of the audiencia of the Philippines and its relations with the governor is given by the *oidor*, Dr. Antonio Morga, in his *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, first published in Mexico City in 1609. Writing from personal knowledge, Morga states that the governor attended privately to all that related to war and government with the advice of the audiencia in difficult matters; that he tried the criminal offenses of regular, paid soldiers, but

acuerdo) it deliberated upon matters of government and administration and participated with the governor in the enactment of local ordinances. It actually discharged certain commissions such as the management of the praedial tithes, the public lands, temporalities, and the *fondos de Agaña*, which seem to have been funds for the support of the establishment in the Marianas Islands or the Ladrões.⁸ It appears to have been usually in accord with the governor both in support of his general policy and in the interminable and disastrous disputes which arose between the governors and the ecclesiastical authorities.

It was the Church that constituted the real check upon the power of the governor of the Philippines. The conflicts which arose between the governors and the archbishops of Manila were never resolutely dealt with by the Spanish crown, nor were the causes of enmity settled. The result was an obvious impairment of authority which nearly brought the colony to ruin. The struggle became acute about the middle of the seventeenth century, under Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera. No Philippine governor of the seventeenth century more impresses the imagination than this active and valiant man, about whose character a tempest of argument has waged. He dealt the Moros of Mindanao the heaviest blow that these pirates were to receive until the middle of the nineteenth century, but his rule is also associated with the loss of Formosa and of the Portuguese colony of Macao. When relieved by his successor in 1644 he was subjected to bitter charges by his opponents in his *residencia*, and for five years was held a prisoner in the fortresses of Santiago and Cavite. "A strange turn of fortune!" exclaims a contemporary writer, the Dominican friar Navarrete, "Don Sebastian had been the most absolute and the most dreaded lord in the world." The conflict between priest and soldier long continued. Governor Diego de Salcedo in 1668 was made a prisoner by the Commissioner of the Inquisition and died at sea while being sent to Mexico for trial. Governor Vargas Hurtado (1678-1684) suffered excommunication, and after a *residencia* of four years died at sea on the way to Mexico. The troubles of Governor Bustamente with the archbishop and the religious orders led to his assassination in 1719.

that these had a right of appeal to the audiencia; that he sat with the audiencia for the trial of civil and criminal cases and with this body provided what was necessary for the administration of finances; that the audiencia each year audited the accounts of the royal officers and after balancing them sent them to the "Tribunal of Accounts at Mexico". (W. E. Retana's edition of the *Sucesos*, Madrid, 1909, pp. 222, 224.)

⁸ J. de la Rosa, "La Administración Pública en Filipinas", *La Política de España en Filipinas*, III. 115.

The *residencia* was a peculiarly Spanish institution. It was the trial and audit of accounts of an official at the end of his term by his successor. It frequently occupied months and even years of time, and involved a retiring executive in great delay and expense, and not infrequently in heavy penalties. The case of Corcuera has already been referred to, and some of his successors were hardly more fortunate.

The Italian traveller Gemelli Careri, who visited the Philippines in 1697, thus recorded his impression of the proceeding:

This Grandeur and Power [of the governor] is somewhat eclips'd by a dreadful Trial the wicked People of *Manila* make their governors go through. . . . The Accusers have 60 Days allow'd them, after Proclamation made through the Province, to bring in their Complaints, and 30 Days to Prosecute before the Judge, who is generally the Successor in the Government by Special Commission from the King and his Supream Council of the *Indies*.

After citing the cases of Corcuera, Fajardo, and Manrique de Lara, the last of whom, after a life of extraordinary adventure ending with his *residencia* at Manila, regained his native land to die in orders, Gemelli records:

In short since the Islands were Conquer'd, no Governor has returned to *Spain* but he and one more; for all of them either break their Hearts at their Tryal or Dye with Hardship by the way. It is certain this Tryal is worth one hundred thousand Crowns to the new governor which he that goes off must have ready, to come off well in this dreadful Tryal.⁹

It can hardly be doubted that the prospect of this bitter experience awaiting a governor at the termination of his office undermined his courage and weakened his conduct of affairs.

Besides the ordeal of the *residencia* the government of the Philippines was occasionally subjected to the inspection of a *visitador*. In 1631 the *oidor* Rojas of the audiencia of Mexico was sent to the Philippines in this capacity and suspended the *oidores* of the Manila audiencia. The exact relation between the administration of the Philippines and that of Mexico and the degree of control exercised by the latter over the former are somewhat difficult to determine. Theoretically the Philippines, like the captaincies-general of Yucatan and Guatemala, were under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of New Spain. The viceroy, or sometimes the audiencia of Mexico, repeatedly designated the *ad interim* successor to a governor of the Philippines until the appointment could be settled by the king. During the suspension of the Manila audiencia cases

⁹ Churchill, *Collection of Voyages*, IV. 411.

were regularly appealed to the audiencia at Mexico City. The Commissioner of the Inquisition in the Philippines was an agent of the Holy Office in Mexico. All communication for several centuries between the Philippines and Spain lay through the Acapulco galleon. Mexico was relied upon for financial and military support and for an annual subsidy or *situado*, such as was also furnished to the financially weak governments of Venezuela, Havana, or Yucatan. Yet the actual degree of oversight does not seem to have been great, nor to have had appreciable influence upon the conduct of Philippine affairs.

The Spanish system as above described was undeniably fatal to the initiative, independence, and vigor of her governors. Placed in a difficult situation, distant from the Spanish court by half the circumference of the globe, compelled to rely upon Mexico for economic support, the focus of jealousy and contention, balked by ecclesiastical rivals and civil associates, and conscious of the grim day of reckoning at the end of their terms, the governors of the Philippines during most of the eighteenth century sank in character, and their achievements were too futile to be recalled.

The task of reorganizing and reinvigorating the government of the Philippines began with the last third of the eighteenth century, and continued with fluctuations down to the end of 1898. The higher intelligence of the nation from time to time discerned the weaknesses of the organization and indicated remedies, but reforms were never carried through with completeness and the end was revolt and disaster. The history of these attempts to modernize the Spanish administration of the Philippines is most instructive, but only its main outlines can be indicated here.

The capture of Manila by the English in 1762 aroused the Spanish government to the appointment and support of governors of ability, among them Anda y Salazar and Basco y Vargas. The latter, who placed the finances of the Philippines upon an independent basis through the establishment of the tobacco monopoly, and who did something to encourage agriculture and industries, was also responsible for attempting in the administration of the Philippines that separation of governmental and financial administration which had been effected in the viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru. On recommendation of Basco there was issued the royal order of July 7, 1784, creating the Intendency of the Army and of Finance, and to this position was appointed an *oidor* of the audiencia, Carvajal. This official established in the islands five subordinate intendencies and submitted plans for the fiscal and agri-

cultural development of the islands. The new organization, however, was short-lived. In 1787 the superintendence of finance, by royal decree, devolved once more upon the governor and captain-general. The modification of the earlier unspecialized centralization of authority in the direction of segregating financial administration rested upon a sufficiently definite theory to commend itself to Spanish authority, and after a half-century of experiment the financial administration was reorganized as the *Intendencia de Hacienda*. The governor continued to be the "superior head" of this, as well as other branches, but the immediate direction was confided to the *intendente general*.¹⁰

A further specialization of 1861 deprived the governor-general of his judicial powers; at the same time the audiencia was divested of its administrative and consultative functions and became simply the supreme court for the archipelago.¹¹ With this change there was created a new body advisory to the governor, known as the Council of Administration (*Consejo de Administración*), made up of high officials, civil, military, and ecclesiastic. A minor advisory body was the Board of Authorities (*Junta de Autoridades*). The principle that the Spanish sought to apply here is one which has been widely used in the colonial administration of the French, the Dutch and the English, namely, to concentrate executive authority in a single person, but to subject the exercise of this authority to the expert advice of responsible associates. Expectations of the usefulness of this body in the Philippines do not seem, however, to have been realized, and at the time of the ending of its existence it was declared a useless organization.¹² Its last assembling took place in the city of Manila under the guns of Dewey's fleet, and amidst the general apprehension that prevailed on that occasion it appears to have rendered no particular service. Still further specialization took place with the organization of a general department of civil administration. The conception of this reform was to segregate from military affairs and from the determination of policy the execution of functions having to do with civil service and with the development of the islands, people, and resources. The *Dirección General de Administración Civil* was decreed as early as 1858¹³ but actually established in 1874, and the position of director was occupied in the last decades of Spanish rule by a number of men

¹⁰ The decree is given in San Pedro, *Legislación Ultramarina*, XIII. 10.

¹¹ Royal decree of July 4, 1861, San Pedro, *op. cit.*, VII. 38.

¹² See the testimony of Don Cayetano Arellano before the Philippine Commission in 1899. *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, II. 24.

¹³ Berriz, *Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas, Anuario*, 1888, I. 624-643.

who made a distinct impression upon the well-being of the islands. It had two branches, *Gobierno* and *Fomento*, and embraced the bureaus (*inspecciones*) of mines, forests, public works, poor relief, sanitation, and public instruction. As advisory bodies to the chiefs of these bureaus there were formed a number of consultative boards on the principle above noted.

In case of death or absence, the governor-general was succeeded by the *Segundo Cabo*, a general next in command of the military forces and in case of the latter's disability and the absence of another army officer of general rank, a decree of 1862 provided that the government should be exercised by the naval officer in command of the Philippine station.¹⁴

With the awakening of new interest in dependencies observable in the last half-century of the Spanish period, and with the creation in 1863 of the *Ministerio de Ultramar* or Colonies,¹⁵ initiative in legislation seems to have passed to the officialdom in Spain. This appears to have been increasingly so after the establishment of steamship connection by way of the Suez Canal and the connection of Manila by telegraph cable with the government at Madrid. Before this period the development of the Philippine administration seems to have been largely in the hands of the governors at Manila, subject to the approval of the government in Spain; thus the governorship of Claveria (1844-1849) was characterized by the initiation of many reforms, the establishment of new provincial governments, the bestowal of surnames upon the natives, the correction of the calendar, and the final suppression of piracy, and his proposals seem to have invariably found approval at Madrid. Probably no governor after Claveria made so original an impression upon the islands. What the later governors did effect, however, was to reflect the changes in the politics of Spain. The momentary triumph of liberal politics at Madrid meant encouragement to the aspiration of the natives of the Philippines, frequently to be followed by the adoption of a conservative policy and the appointment of a representative of reaction. Thus the period of advancement and reform from 1880 to 1888 represented by the "liberal" governors, Primo de Rivera, Jovellar, and Terrero, was followed by the reactionary rule of General Valeriano Weyler, 1888-1891, whose name is familiar to Americans through his disastrous government of Cuba, and who exemplified both the possibilities and the abuses of the office as it was in the last period of its existence.¹⁶

¹⁴ San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I. 134.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 185, for the royal decree of May 20, 1863.

¹⁶ Retana, *Mando del General Weyler en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1896).

Neither in the Philippines nor in the Western Hemisphere was there ever a colonial legislature established under Spanish authority. This impairment of legislative responsibility in the colony had its undoubted effect in retarding and discouraging the progress of the government, and gave to colonial laws the effect of detachment from the actual conditions which they were meant to remedy. In spite of their august source and the solemnity of their promulgation, it is of interest to note how frequently they were disregarded. Morga, writing as early as 1597, states frankly that royal decrees sent to the Philippines by His Majesty are mostly suspended or not effectively observed.¹⁷ Indeed the Spanish authorities at Madrid seemed to hesitate to give full and immediate effect to their determinations and to have promoted the development of a power in the local government to suspend or limit the action of a decree pending further correspondence.¹⁸ This power of the *cumplase*, as it came to be known, was sometimes exercised in matters of great significance. Two "titles" of the Civil Code promulgated for the Philippines in 1889 was suspended, and the greater part of the Civil Marriage Act of 1870 suppressed by the governor-general. This has left the Philippines without any law of divorce, except as contained in *Las Partidas*.¹⁹ The radical decree of Moret transforming the Dominican University of Santo Tomas into a government institution, was entirely withheld from publication by the governor-general and never went into force. The reform law of local government, the "Maura Decree", was made effective only in certain provinces and had hardly become operative when the Spanish system fell before the American conquest of the islands.²⁰

The city of Manila was captured by the American expeditionary forces on August 13, 1898, and on the following day terms of capitulation were signed. From this date American government in the Philippines begins. General Wesley Merritt, commanding the American army, issued a proclamation announcing the establishment of military rule and assuring the Filipinos of protection and guaranties. It was published in accordance with instructions of the President which the commanding general brought.²¹ General Arthur McArthur was appointed "provost-marshal-general and civil governor of Manila", and other officers were detailed to necessary administrative positions.

¹⁷ See "Report of Conditions", Blair and Robertson, X. 81.

¹⁸ This discretion was recognized very early by the laws of the Indies and was reaffirmed as late as 1876. See the *real orden* given in Berriz, *Diccionario, Anuario*, 1888, II. 95.

¹⁹ See Benedicto v. de la Rama, 3 *Philippine Reports* 34.

²⁰ See LeRoy, *Americans in the Philippines*, I. 43.

²¹ *Senate Document No. 208*, p. 85, Report of General Otis for 1899, p. 17.

The office of military governor covers the period August 14, 1898, to July 4, 1901. It was filled by the following officers of the United States army: Major-General Wesley Merritt, for the brief period August 14–August 29, 1898, Major-General E. S. Otis, August 29, 1898, to May 5, 1900, and Major-General Arthur McArthur, May 5, 1900, to July 4, 1901. The powers exercised by these military governors were very extensive and had an important influence upon the subsequent government of the archipelago. Acting under authority from the President of the United States and in the absence of Congressional legislation, the military governors exercised a most liberal legislative power. By proclamation and by general orders they continued in operation the municipal law that had prevailed under the Spanish government, re-established a system of courts, including provost-courts and the supreme court or *audiencia*, and for the trial of criminal offenses subsequently established a system of military commissions.²² Where the Spanish law was believed to need correction it was unhesitatingly reformed. An entirely new code of criminal procedure, introducing into the jurisprudence of the islands the English principles of search warrants and the writ of habeas corpus, was promulgated by General Order No. 58, April 23, 1900, and is still the law of criminal procedure for the archipelago.²³ The law of civil marriage, which had long been a question of intense political and ecclesiastical controversy, was similarly promulgated.²⁴ Under military supervision municipal governments were set up and first one and subsequently another more elaborate municipal code was decreed. Military authority put into prompt operation provisional tariff laws and immigration regulations, which excluded the Chinese from entrance into the islands.

It was quite in keeping with the past powers of the position and with the policy long followed by the Spanish governors of Manila that General Otis should have commissioned a general officer to proceed to the Sulu archipelago and negotiate with the Sultan of Sulu a treaty of peace and protection. This document, which was secured with difficulty and misapprehension on both sides, followed the traditional lines of Spanish policy in handling this semi-independent Malay power. One article of the treaty however, that recognized slavery in the Sulu archipelago, was disapproved by the President of the United States. Following closely along the lines of traditional Spanish authority also was the power exercised by the military governor to expel or exile undesirable persons. This power was

²² Report of Major-General McArthur, 1901, II. 42, 43.

²³ Printed in the *Public Laws passed by the Philippine Commission*, I. 1082.

²⁴ General Order No. 68, December, 1899, amended by General Order No. 70, 1900, printed in *Public Laws passed by the Philippine Commission*, I. 1078 ff.

used against Americans as well as aliens, but perhaps the case that attracted most attention was that of the exile and confinement on the island of Guam of thirty-nine Filipino "Irreconcilables", including the leading Filipino revolutionist Apolinario Mabini. Was it also the tradition of the *cumplase* which induced General Otis to omit certain provisions and modify others of President McKinley's notable proclamation of American sovereignty cabled to Manila at the end of December, 1898?²⁵

On the administrative side the government as finally constituted by American military and civil authorities shows even more definitely the influence of the Spanish institutions and traditions that had preceded it. Except in the single case of the presidency of the United States American prejudice has been strong against conferring a centralized administrative control upon a single executive head. The American state governor, while he has risen in recent years to a position of great political importance, is in no case the executive head of state administration, which is distributed among state officers having a similar tenure with the governor or confided to commissions and boards only partially under his control. The same disposition has manifested itself in the governments for such territories, as Hawaii and Alaska. In neither of these is the governor of the territory the centre of the administration and the recognized avenue of communication between all departments of the federal and local governments. Such a diffusion of responsibility was happily prevented in the Philippines, first we may believe by the abiding influence of the office of governor-general under Spain, and in the second place by the period of military government now being described. As branches of civil administration were recreated during the period of military governorship these offices were not subordinated to departments at Washington, but were made responsible to the military governor.

The possession of captured funds and property occasioned prompt action with respect to those branches of Spanish administration which had been embraced in the *Intendencia General de Hacienda*. By General Order No. 5, September 17, 1898, the office of *intendente general* was suspended. The duties had already been separated into several departments: the treasury, the department of audits (General Order No. 3, 1898), the department of customs

²⁵ General Otis omitted entirely from the proclamation the statement of the right of the United States to the archipelago both by conquest and cession, and the intention of the government to at once extend its authority. Other clauses were expanded and to certain assurances from Washington he added his own. (See *Senate Document No. 331*, pp. 776-778; and General Otis's *Report*, 1899, opposite p. 359. See also the account in LeRoy, *Americans in the Philippines*, I, 401 and note.)

(August 20, 1898), and a department of internal revenue (August 21, 1898). Later those branches of administration which had been under the *Dirección General de Administración Civil* were taken up and their work revived. Public instruction in the city of Manila was committed to the oversight of a chaplain of one of the army regiments and later an army officer was detailed for the entire archipelago. Public health was entrusted to the medical corps of the army. In March, 1900 (General Order No. 31), the "Mining Bureau" restored the *Inspección de Minas* and inherited its collections and laboratory, and on April 14 of the same year the "Forestry Bureau" took up the forestry work of the former *Inspección General de Montes*. The organization of these offices as well as others which followed, under legislation of the Philippine Commission, took on a bureaucratic character, and thus from the beginning Philippine administration in American hands was unified, centralized, and made responsible to the chief executive of the archipelago.

Superficial critics and observers of the Philippine government have on a few occasions advocated the placing of one or another field of Philippine administration, as for example education, under the direction of the corresponding bureau of the United States federal service. Fortunately such suggestions have received no encouragement. Both American and European experience fully justify the course which Philippine administration has taken. The French experimented for years under the influence of "assimilation" ideas with an attempt to administer Algeria through extensions, to their African possession, of the administrative work of the several ministries at Paris. During this period, which extended from 1881 to 1896, local officials in the several departments reported not to the governor-general at Algiers, but to their respective ministries of the national government. This system of *services rattachés* gave such unsatisfactory results that a senatorial commission under the chairmanship of M. Jules Ferry reported in 1892 in favor of its abandonment. The policy of centralization under the governor-general was inaugurated with generally excellent results.²⁶ Alaska is a present example of a dependency where administrative authority instead of being concentrated in the territorial governor is distributed among numerous local representatives of services not united, who report to their distant heads at Washington. The unanimous voice of those qualified to judge of the workings of this decentralized system testifies to its disadvantages.

²⁶ Girault, *Principes de Colonisation et de Législation Coloniale* (1904), II. 388, 389.

On September 1, 1900, the Philippine Commission, composed of Hon. William H. Taft of Ohio, Professor Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, Hon. Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Hon. Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Professor Bernard Moses of California, entered upon its official responsibilities in the Philippines. Its powers were defined in the President's instructions to the commission transmitted through the Secretary of War under date of April 7, 1900.²⁷ Its general mandate was to "continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities". On the first day of September that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which was of a legislative nature was to be transferred from the military governor to the commission. This was specifically described as including the powers of taxation and appropriation of public funds, establishment of an educational system, of a civil service, of courts and municipal and departmental governments. It was further provided that the commission should have the power to appoint officers "under the judicial, educational, and civil service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided for".

It seems that the original intention of the President of the United States in appointing the Philippine Commission was to create a plural executive. The instructions read: "The commissioners . . . will meet and act as a board, and the Hon. William H. Taft is designated as president of the board." Power and responsibility obviously were collegiate and not individual. The president of the board was clearly only a presiding officer. However, as the Philippine insurrection drew to a close in the spring of 1901 and the improvement in the military condition of the archipelago warranted the establishment of a complete civil government, and the substitution for the office of military governor of one of a civil character, the plan for a collegiate executive was changed, and on June 21 the Secretary of War issued to the president of the commission an appointment as civil governor of the Philippine Islands, with the power to "exercise the executive authority in all civil affairs in the government of the Philippine Islands heretofore exercised in such affairs by the military governor of the Philippines". The appointment provided that "the power to appoint civil officers, heretofore vested in the Philippine Commission, or in the military governor, will be exercised by the civil governor with the advice and consent of the Commission". The military governor by the same order was relieved from the performance of civil duties,

²⁷ Printed in *Public Laws passed by the Philippine Commission*, I. xliii ff.

although his authority was to continue in districts where insurrection still continued or public order was not sufficiently restored. Under date of October 29, 1901, President Roosevelt appointed Mr. Luke E. Wright "vice-governor" with authority to act in the absence or incapacity of the civil governor.

The tendency of "government by commission" is to work away from the principle of collegiate responsibility, with which commission government begins, and commit specific responsibilities to individual members. As a consequence, unless by a rigid practice all important actions of individual members are reviewed and approved in commission the principle of joint responsibility is impaired. This was the development which the Philippine Commission eventually underwent. Acting under instructions from the Secretary of War issued on September 6, 1901, the commission enacted Act No. 222, providing for the organization of four departments: Interior, Commerce and Police, Finance and Justice, and Public Instruction, to the head of which departments the President, through the Secretary of War, appointed the four original colleagues of Mr. Taft. Section 5 of this act provides that the secretaries shall exercise the executive control conferred upon them under the general supervision of the civil governor, and that the executive control of the central government over provincial and municipal governments and the civil service shall be exercised directly by the civil governor through an executive secretary.

It is difficult to assert definitely how the principle of collegiate responsibility assumed when the Philippine Commission was created has worked out. The other members of the Philippine Commission, now consisting of nine members altogether, are not mere adjutants or cabinet secretaries of the governor-general. They, like himself, are appointees of the President of the United States. They may outrank him in length of service and experience, and may and frequently have differed from him on matters of policy. Their oversight of the branches of administration committed to them and of the bureaus in which this administration is organized, is to a large degree independent of the governor-general.²⁸ The governor-general, in the absence of a secretary, however, may assume the direction of his department, and on certain branches of the administration, as for instance constabulary and the preservation of public order, the policy of the governor-general has usually been decisive.

²⁸ By the rules of the commission, the governor-general and each secretary is a standing committee of one on all matters pertaining to the particular department which each represents. *Commission Journal, First Philippine Legislature, inaugural session*, p. 71, and *second session*, p. 79.

He possesses the power to proclaim martial law, suspend the ordinary civil rights granted by the Philippine Bill and even to concentrate the population, but he must exercise these extraordinary powers with the approval of the Philippine Commission. He has, moreover, the right to inspect and even personally correct any branch of administration whatever. The custom followed by all of the chief executives of making frequent trips through the provinces and by personal observation satisfying themselves as to the workings of insular and provincial administration has naturally led to the governor-general's taking cognizance of the working of all departments of government. Furthermore he may direct the dismissal of any official except a justice of the supreme court, a Philippine commissioner, or the insular auditor and this great disciplinary power makes his authority respected by all elements of administration. Furthermore, while the appointments of subordinate officials are regularly approved by the heads of departments, the directors of bureaus and the assistant directors are made by the governor-general. Good policy recommends consultation between him and the head of a department concerned and this consultation is usually had, but there have been undoubted instances of conflict of desire, and in these cases the will of the governor-general appears to have prevailed. Furthermore the civil service regulations are promulgated by the governor-general and his power over these rules and their operation appears to be complete. Thus it is doubtful if the legal relation existing between him and the heads of the departments is a proper one. The survival of collegiate responsibility is of questionable advantage. The principle recognized in other colonial governments of making the governor-general alone responsible for executive policy and limiting the function of his colleagues to that of an advisory council possesses undoubted advantages. Dissensions between members of the commission which the governor-general was powerless to correct or override and which could only be settled at Washington by what is necessarily a slow process have undoubtedly embarrassed the governor-general in the fulfillment of his responsibility and have in a considerable degree been responsible for a decline in the standing and effectiveness of the commission itself.²⁰

By the "Philippine Bill" approved July 1, 1902, Congress approved, ratified, and confirmed the actions of the President of the United States in creating the Philippine Commission and offices of civil governor and vice-governor and the secretaries of departments,

²⁰ See *Congressional Record*, XLIX. 3089.

and provided that laws of the Philippine Commission up to that time enacted "by authority of the President of the United States" should thereafter read "by authority of the United States".³⁰

The above legislation comprises the principal acts establishing the office of chief executive in the Philippines and defining its powers. These powers have however been further amplified in two ways: by acts of the Philippine Commission and of the Philippine legislature and by the assumption of certain powers as inherent in or traditional to the office of Philippine governor.³¹

Among the powers of the governor-general which have been developed by action of the legislative authority is a very considerable "ordinance power". The European practice of confining a statute to a bare declaration of principles or policy and authorizing the development of details by "Orders in Council" or *décrets* of the executive is so little understood in America that where such a practice arises under an American government it deserves attention. A statute of an American legislature too frequently aims to cover every minor detail and anticipate every situation that may arise in the administration of the law. The rigidity thus imposed occasions constant amendment by subsequent legislatures.

The absence of any clear conception of "ordinance power" in the minds of the Philippine Commission led to their expressing the legislative will in minute detail. The result is that the bulk of the acts—they amount to exactly 1800—passed by the commission during the period of its sole legislative authority, from 1900 to 1907, are not laws or *lois* in the French sense, but minor amplifications, suspensions, and administrative adjustments properly forming the field of executive ordinances or decrees.

Nevertheless the very experience of the commission in repealing and amending its own work led it to gradually entrust certain legis-

³⁰ All the steps taken for the pacification of the Philippines and the organization thereof of government were taken under authority of the President and by virtue of his constitutional powers as commander-in-chief of the army. Congress gave no sanction to the President's work until the Philippine Bill noted above, although on March 2, 1901, it did recognize American possession by a section of the army appropriation bill, which ratified the customs law as enacted by the Philippine Commission and added a revenue law granting refunds to the Philippine government of customs collected on American imports from the Philippines. This law of Congress further provided that no person in the Philippine Islands should be convicted of treason "unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court". On April 29, 1902, shortly before the enactment of the Philippine Bill, an act was passed applying the Chinese immigration laws to the archipelago.

³¹ The title of civil governor, created in distinction to that of military governor, was that held by Mr. Taft. After his retirement from the Philippines and appointment as Secretary of War he secured for his successor the adoption by Congress of the title "governor-general", thereby reviving the high designation used during the last period of Spanish rule and placing the office on a parity of dignity with that of other colonial empires of first importance.

lative powers to the governor-general. This process was augmented by the inauguration of the Philippine assembly. As the period of its exclusive legislative authority drew to a close the commission labored diligently and with obvious purpose to bring the body of Philippine laws to a state which would not require further enactments, if legislation proved impossible with the setting up of a concurrent law-making chamber. A number of acts conferred powers on the governor-general in explicit expectation that the legislative power would thereafter be exercised less freely. For example the preamble to Act 1748 recites that whereas changes in the boundaries and capital seats of provinces may be made necessary by new routes of communication and other economic development and "Whereas the Legislature will not, in all probability, be in session more than ninety days per annum; and Whereas it is desirable that there may be provided by law an expeditious method by which such changes may be made", it is enacted that whenever in the judgment of the governor-general the public welfare requires, he may by executive order change the boundaries or subdivide or merge any province, sub-province, municipality, township, or administrative jurisdiction, and in case new offices are made necessary by subdivision, create such offices and fill them either by appointment or by election. Action under the powers of this act has been constant. Through its exercise hundreds of towns once deprived of their autonomy have been restored to their earlier status.³²

An earlier act of the same character (No. 1701) authorized the governor-general, in the interests of economy, to consolidate the office of provincial fiscal for two or more provinces, and this power has also been exercised repeatedly.

Another remarkable power exercised for some years was conferred by a clause in a general appropriation bill authorizing the governor-general to combine any two or more positions and from the united salaries to form a new position of higher grade, and authorizing the appointment of two or more persons for the salary provided for a single position.³³ These powers were exercised by Governor-General Forbes in such a manner as to arouse the opposition of the assembly and with the passage of the first appropriation bill under Governor-General Harrison such action was made illegal.³⁴ It is doubtful, from the scientific standpoint, whether a power to recast budgetary provisions should ever have been conferred. In a

³² See *Executive Orders and Proclamations* (Manila, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914).

³³ Act 1679, sect. 3.

³⁴ Act 2319, sects. 2 to 6.

representative government which, on the legislative side, that of the Philippines is, the power to determine the number and grade of offices and the appropriations for specific ends is a legislative function.³⁵

Acts of the commission have frequently left to executive authority the determination of the date when they should become operative. For years the land tax was difficult to collect and the continuous petitioning of provincial boards for legislative relief from the payment of this tax was finally settled by conferring upon the governor-general the power to grant such suspension (Act 1713).

Prior to the inauguration of the first session of the Philippine assembly, the ordering and arrangement of the budget for submission to the legislative body was under the governor-general's immediate control, as this work was done by the executive secretary. There can be little difference of opinion that this is the scientific and proper manner for budget submission. American practice, the faults of which are becoming obvious to the public, has however confided this task to legislative committees. It was particularly unfortunate that this tradition should have been so fixed in the minds of the members of the Philippine Commission as to induce them at once to relinquish this properly executive function to a committee of the assembly. The appropriation bill passed by the first legislature was indeed better than might have been anticipated, but it fell short of what an appropriation bill, properly considered from the standpoint of government needs, should be. Owing to the inability thereafter of commission and assembly to agree upon another appropriation it remained the regular budget during the entire administration of Governor-General Forbes, 1909 to 1913.³⁶

The governor-general possesses very ample powers of granting pardons and paroles. The authority seems to be descended from that exercised by the military governor. Neither Congress nor the Philippine Commission ever directly bestowed it. On June 2, 1902, a general amnesty was extended to political prisoners in the Philippines by the President. Ordinary criminal offenders were not included but the President directed that "special application may be made by those exempted from the amnesty to the proper authority

³⁵ The action of the governor-general in this matter was the cause of a serious dispute between him and one of the commissioners. See *Congressional Record*, XLIX, 3105-3107.

³⁶ The Philippine Bill providing for the assembly required that in case of failure to pass an appropriation bill for a new budget period the former budget should continue in force with identical appropriations. This device, which seems to have been borrowed from the constitution of Japan, and which has been extended also to the government of Porto Rico, prevents the assembly from coercing the commission by the historic method of refusal to "grant supply".

for pardon". This "proper authority" is conceived to be the governor-general. The power of pardon has been liberally used by all governors-general, sometimes upon the recommendation of a board of pardons appointed by the executive to review records, and otherwise upon examination of applications by the governor-general himself.

Under conditions that exist in the Philippines the pardoning power is one of immense delicacy and political importance. Its exercise is surrounded with difficulties. Among notable cases have been the decision of Governor-General Smith in the application for pardon of the "cabecillas" Sakay, Montalon, and de Vega, who, after surrender, were condemned to death and finally executed, and the recent case of General Noriel. Pardon having been refused for this man, application was made directly to President Wilson, who granted a stay. Whereupon, according to reliable reports, Governor-General Harrison tendered his resignation. The interposition of the President was then withdrawn and the execution of General Noriel followed on the day fixed. Legislation has twice extended the scope of the pardoning power by authorizing conditional pardons and paroles (Acts 1524 and 1561).³⁷

The power of exile and deportation once exercised by the governor-general under Spain and by the military governor, is hardly to be so easily explained and indeed seems to be irreconcilable with the constitutional system extended to the Philippines. Yet without doubt the governor-general has this power at least as respects aliens, including not merely aliens seeking admission who may, without judicial review of their acts, be expelled by immigration authorities, but also aliens long resident in the Philippines. In 1910 certain Chinese, twelve in number, designated by the Chinese consul-general as persons prejudicial to the good order of the Chinese community, were arrested and conveyed to China by order of the governor-general or at least under his authority. One had been for years a resident in the islands and had children in the public schools. Subsequently several of the number returned and sought protection by a writ of injunction to police and constabulary authorities and also to the governor-general. A suit for damages against Governor-General Forbes was also filed. The supreme court of the Philippines, to which the cases were appealed, upheld the power of the governor-general to deport obnoxious aliens as a power

³⁷ The Municipal Board of Manila for a long time followed the practice of pardoning offenders convicted of violations of municipal ordinances without other warrant for such action than that such power was exercised under military rule by the provost-marshal-general.

inherent in the executive without specific legislative grant.³⁸ Meanwhile the Philippine legislature passed an act defining "due process of law" in such cases to be a hearing before the governor-general or his authorized representative, and providing further that the act should not be construed to authorize the "extrañamiento, destierro, deportation or other form of expulsion from the islands of Filipinos". (Act 2113.)

This case raises the general question of the power of courts to review the acts of administrative officers. In the United States this is the recognized procedure. It is well settled that the acts of the President of the United States are not judicially reviewable, nor will the ordinary writs lie against him, but this does not apply to his cabinet officers nor have the courts always applied this exemption to the governor of a state. We have seen that the Manila court directed a writ of injunction to the governor-general. But in the main the action of courts for reviewing administrative acts, for determining conflicts of jurisdiction, or for interpreting administrative powers, has been extremely sparse. In place of judicial action the commission has existed to adjust, or determine by executive instruction or new legislation, any conflict of powers, and to redress by direct action any abusive or unwise conduct of a subordinate officer. Aggrieved persons have found this method of redress so advantageous that there has existed practically no inducement to appeal to the courts. The commission has in fact acted in certain cases almost as an "administrative court" in the Continental sense. But the informality of its proceedings and the absence of record have delayed the growth of anything like a body of "administrative law". The situation is one to suggest the establishment under the governor-general of a superior administrative court in the proper sense to hear cases and recommend action in a large class of responsibilities in respect to which the governor-general has been entrusted with an administrative-judicial power. These cases include review of disputed elections; charges of malfeasance and removal from office; disqualification from holding public office; decisions on appeal from provincial boards on the legality of municipal ordinances; the reservation of public lands; the fixing of penal stations; and the determination of responsibility for loss of property by officials, with consequent deductions of salary. Such cases as these, and many others which are within the governor-general's competence, and which are frequently decided on merely clerical

³⁸ *Forbes et al. v. Tiaco et al.*, 16 *Philippine Reports* 534. This decision on somewhat different grounds has been upheld by the United States Supreme Court. *Tiaco v. Forbes*, 228 U. S. 549.

advice, are quasi-judicial in character and could presumably be settled with greater wisdom if action were taken under the advice of a body or court composed of men highly trained in both administration and law.

To return finally to the dilemma with which this paper opened, there seems to be no escape in the government of such a dependency as the Philippines from entrusting great powers to a single man, and granting him a confidence which cannot easily be weakened by detraction. The practical restraints on such a position seem to be only two: an informed public opinion and watchful interest on the part of a considerable element in the sovereign nation—such attention, for example, as the Dutch people give to their immense empire of Netherlands-India—and, secondly, the restraint and patience that is produced in a chief executive by a long service in similar capacities. In the government of colonies nothing can take the place of this experience. Colonial affairs and administration differ in so many important respects from domestic politics, that experience in the latter is no guaranty of success in the former. Every country, except our own, has come to the policy of making training and experience the indispensable prerequisites for high executive discretion in colonial government. The history of the Philippines under both Spain and America is sufficient to demonstrate them indispensable to the office of the governor-general.

DAVID P. BARROWS

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

PURITANICAL TENDENCIES ON THE PART OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES, LAY AND ECCLESIASTICAL, IN THE LATER TUDOR AND EARLY STUART PERIOD

A. H. A. HAMILTON in his *Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne*¹ cites (pp. 28, 29) from the Devon records an interesting early instance of Puritanism on the part of the local authorities, acting, it would appear, at the instigation of the Church. It is an order made July, 1595, at a session held in the Chapter House of Exeter—"the bishop apparently being in the chair"—declaring:

Church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the *Sabbath day* and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities, are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's "*Saboth*", the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth. [It was] therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath, that there shall be no drink "used, kept, or uttered" upon the Sabbath at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or the preaching of the Word, nor at any time in the night season; nor yet that there shall be "any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncyng, or suche wanton Dallyances, used at the said May games."

In January, 1599, the justices went so far as to order "that parish ales, church ales and revels should be utterly suppressed", and a market which had been held on the "*Sabboth*" at East Budleigh was also abolished.

The query naturally arises, how widespread was this attitude—this enforcement of a strict observance of the Sabbath and this attempt, on the part of the magistrates and the Church of England clergy, before the Puritan régime had really become dominant, to put down certain potvaliant and ludicrous customs which had flourished in Merry England time out of mind? An examination of such extracts from local records and from private letters as may be found in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission seems to show that the tendency was well marked in widely sepa-

¹ London, 1878.

rated parts of the country from a period beginning comparatively early in Elizabeth's reign. For example, Robert, bishop of Winchester, writes October 7, 1570, to William More, Esq., at Losely:

Grace and peace. Where John Slifelde of Bifflete have heretofore binn admitted to kepe an Ale Howse, and for the well using thereof, as I thinke, is bounde be recognisaunce to our souveraigne Lady the Quene's majestie, so it is that he has this my last visitacion binn orderly detected to have mayntained dauncyng at his howse the Saboth day, and that in tyme of divine service. . . . Wherfore you shall do well for example sake to take some streight order with him in this behalf.²

Again, some fifteen years later, a successor, Thomas, bishop of Winchester, was prompted to issue a circular letter, May 13, 1585, "to the Ministers, constables, churchwardens, and others of the several parishes of his diocese against the impious and profligate maintenance of Church-ales, May-games, Morrish-daunces and other vaine pastimes on the Saboth dayes".³ Among the town records of Ipswich there is preserved an order of December 6, 1571, "for the better observance of the Sabbath Day, that no inhabitant of Ipswich shall on that day open shop-window or shop-door for the purpose of selling wares on that day, the ordinance not to apply to butchers selling meat at hours other than the time of common prayer".⁴ On December 6, 1599, it was further ordered that no wagoner or common carrier of Ipswich shall work on the Sabbath Day; the order being made

forasmuch as the waggoners and comen carriers of this towne have and doe usuallie begynne to travell towards London everie week on the tuesdaie with there wagons and carriages and doe come out of London on the Frydaye at afternoon and [apparently some word omitted, e. g., travel] by most part of the Sabothe daie to the great offense of Almighty God and contrarie to the lawes of the realme, and to the infamie and slander of this towne.⁵

To cite one more instance, the town authorities of Yarmouth ordered, November 20, 1605, "that noe carter nor bruer nor any other shall travel with their cartes and horses, nor do any other business upon the Sabboth daye upon paine for every such default so offending, of xii *d.* to be levied by the Churchwardens."⁶ The interesting thing is that all these orders emanate from or are enforced by the authorities—bishops, justices of the peace, town councillors, and churchwardens—and are not the mere aspirations

² Hist. MSS. Comm., *Seventh Report*, p. 623.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 640.

⁴ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Ninth Report*, p. 254.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

of the Puritan opposition. An extended study of the local records might furnish further evidence on the point and modify the current views as to the attitude of the established order in Church and State, a field in which Professor R. G. Usher has done such valuable pioneer work in his *Reconstruction of the English Church*.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

[The managing editor asks leave to "do his bit" in support of Professor Cross's note by advancing conclusive evidence that the habit of singing psalms through the nose, one of the best-established traits of Puritanism, was already the custom of a typical and miscellaneous body of Englishmen in 1579. It comes from the Reverend Francis Fletcher's *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, written by the chaplain of Drake's expedition, and published in London, in 1628. The passage quoted below may be conveniently found on page 163 of Dr. Burrage's *Early English and French Voyages* (Original Narratives series, New York, 1906). It is from a description of the conduct of the natives of the California coast when Drake and his men, during their stay in the "convenient and fit harborough", from time to time held divine service:

In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentively: and observing the end at every pause, with one voice still cried, *Oh*, greatly rejoycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to us, their first request was commonly this, *Gnaáh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

It is submitted that the phonetic statement in the last sentence admits of but one interpretation, the one which is suggested above.]

EARLY OPINION ABOUT ENGLISH EXCISE

IN 1733 Sir Robert Walpole declared in the House of Commons that there were then ten or twelve articles of consumption subject to the excise laws, the revenue derived therefrom amounting to more than £3,000,000 per annum; and he added: "A great number of persons are, of course, involved in the operation of these laws; yet, till the present moment, when so inconsiderable an addition is proposed, not a word has been uttered about the dreadful hardships to be apprehended from them."¹ On the other hand it was the opinion of Coxe that the excise in England was not only detested by the people but that it had been almost uniformly condemned by the

¹ Coxe, *Memoirs of Walpole* (London, 1798), I. 395.

principal writers on government, finance, and trade from the Revolution to the time when Walpole was speaking.² In the course of researches for a study of the excise of 1733 I have chanced upon a number of contemporary opinions which show that Sir Robert was eloquently presenting his cause rather than the facts of the case, and that his biographer was partly mistaken.

Excise, borrowed from the fiscal experience of Holland, was first considered in the time of Charles I., and introduced at the beginning of the struggle between Parliament and king.³

*Excise is the Scar
Of our late Civil War*

according to a song of Sir Robert's time.⁴ During this period it was much used by both parties, and after the Restoration became a permanent part of English taxation.

There is no doubt that it was from the beginning greatly disliked. William Prynne, whose antiquarian learning astonishes now as his zeal amazed his contemporaries, giving an account of its origin and its early history, expatiated upon the detestation with which it was regarded.⁵ The titles of some of the little pamphlets at this time are as eloquent as the denunciations which they contain. An anonymous author wrote *The Excise-Mens Lamentation: or, an Impeachment in behalf of the Commons of this Nation, against their insulting Publicans, and cruell Oppressors and Extortioners: with their Acknowledgment, Confession, and Testimony, touching their proceedings in each County; and the vast and mighty Summes which they most wickedly retained: Collected by their unlimited Power, Spungie Hearts, and long-stretched Consciences*.⁶ Another declaimed against this monstrous tax, which he thought to be unequal and oppressive, in *Excise Anotomiz'd, and Trade Epitomiz'd: Declaring, that un-equall Imposition of Excise, to be the only cause of the ruine of Trade, and universall impoverishment of this whole Nation*. By Z. G. a well wisher of the Common good.⁷ Ballad-rhymers made savage ridicule or told of the grief and discomfiture of collectors.⁸ When Cromwell was at the height of his power a bitter opponent

² *Ibid.*, p. 375.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 374; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, I. 474; *Commons' Journals*, II. 800; *Lords' Journals*, VI. 145.

⁴ *Britannia Excisa*, etc. (London, 1733), p. 6.

⁵ *A Declaration and Protestation against the Illegal, Detestable, Oft-condemned, New Tax and Extortion of Excise in General; and for Hops (a Native uncertain commodity) in Particular* (London, 1654).

⁶ London, 1652.

⁷ London, 1659.

⁸ "A Dialogue betwixt an Excise-man and Death", *Bagford Ballads*, III. 13; "The Crafty Miss, or, an Excise-man well fitted", *Roxburghe Ballads*, II. 577.

asked whether "that so much abhorred Tax . . . of Excise" was not introduced only to maintain the war, and "Whether the Excise be not a Tax far more burthensome than Ship-money in the Days of the King".⁹

At the restoration a certain one opposing the excise of domestic commodities other than beer and ale, asserted that "The Clamor, Charge, and other Inconveniences of the Excise of Native Commodities is far more then the proffitt thereof".¹⁰ Andrew Marvell poured upon it fierce invective in the days of the cabal:¹¹

Excise, a monster worse than e'er before
Frighted the midwife, and the mother tore.
A thousand hands she has, a thousand eyes,
Breaks into shops, and into cellars prys;
With hundred rows of teeth the shark exceeds,
And on all trades, like Casawar, she feeds;

She stalks all day in streets, conceal'd from sight,
And flies like bats with leathern wings by night;
She wastes the country, and on citys preys.

And after the Revolution a writer, making use of comparisons repeated often in later days, said: "Excise . . . hath obtained a current Repute of perfect Equality . . . 'tis, singly consider'd, perhaps the most equal, and Innocent of any particular way of Taxing . . . But . . . 'tis a known high Road to Slavery, *Gabelles* and *Sabots* being almost inseparable."¹² In the contest of 1733 ministerial partizans, realizing the hatred borne to the very name, chose rather to speak of inland imposts or inland duties.¹³

It was, however, not without defenders, and some of its champions were authors of distinction.

Although [said a writing ascribed to 1644] the Impost, called Excise, hath by experience been found to be the most equall and indifferent Levy that can be laid upon the people, (and all ingenious men who have studied the Nature and Product of it, upon the result of solemn and serious Debates, have acknowledged it so to be) yet by reason of its name, and 'vulgar prejudice (which any Tax of like import will inevitably find amongst the people) it hath had the ill hap to be traduced as the most destructive thing imaginable to Trade and Commerce, and a badge of slavery and vassalage.¹⁴

⁹ *A Narrative of the late Parliament (so called)*, etc. (1657), in *Harleian Miscellany*, III. 446.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 33051, fol. 188.

¹¹ "Instructions to a Painter", *Works* (London, 1776), III. 369, 370.

¹² *A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to His Friend in the City: Touching Sir William Petty's Posthumous Treatise*, etc. (London, 1691), p. 14.

¹³ *The Daily Courant*, February 2, 1732/3; *Commons' Journals*, XXII. 93, 104.

¹⁴ *Considerations touching the Excise of Native and Forreign Commodities*, etc. (1644?).

In 1662 it was advocated by Sir William Petty,¹⁵ and the next year by another writer on finance;¹⁶ while a year after Thomas Mun mentions "the publique Revenues and Excizes" of the Hollanders with no disapprobation.¹⁷

After the Revolution it had a number of outspoken advocates. In 1690 a writer, confessing that excise would be thought intolerable in England if laid on all food, explained how useful it was in other lands, where it was of all taxes the most equal, though taxing the food of the poor in Holland might be considered a grievance. "Where this Excise is most used", he said, "Importations and Exportations are most eased, by which Means, Trade is greatly improved, and at the same Time, the Levies to the King or State much augmented; for that the Expence of those Merchants and Seamen that repair thither, though they sell nothing, but come to see a Market, is considerable".¹⁸ About the same time Sir Josiah Child, enumerating some of the means by which the Netherlands had obtained such prodigious increase of trade, spoke of "The lowness of their *Customs*, and the height of their *Excise*, which is certainly the most equal and indifferent *Tax* in the World, and least prejudicial to any People, as might be made to appear, were it the subject of this Discourse".¹⁹ D'Avenant said:

Excises seem the most proper Ways and Means to support the government in a long war, because they would lie equally upon the whole, and produce great sums, proportionable to the great wants of the public. [And he added that] Venice and Holland, two jealous commonwealths, have not thought excises dangerous to liberty. They are the strength and support of our neighbouring monarchies, especially France; and if we are to contend with that king, the combat will be with very unequal weapons, if we must make use only of land-taxes and customs, against his excises, and all his other ways of raising money.²⁰

In 1696 a writer advocated an excise upon malt as a tax which would be universal and equal.²¹

It may be said, then, contrary to the assertion of Walpole, that excise was cordially detested by Englishmen for a long time after it was first introduced, because it was a tax affecting a great number

¹⁵ *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, etc. (London, 1662), pp. 71-75, and the summary in the index for these pages.

¹⁶ W. S., *The Forreign Excise Considered. Wherein . . . is pleaded as well the Equity as the Conveniencie of Charging all Forreign Goods with an Excise, upon the Consumption*, etc. (London, 1663).

¹⁷ *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, etc. (London, 1664, ed. New York, 1903), pp. 101, 103, 104, 107.

¹⁸ *Taxes no Charge*, etc. (London, 1690), in *Harleian Miscellany*, VIII. 504.

¹⁹ *A New Discourse of Trade*, etc. (London, 1698, but written earlier), p. 5.

²⁰ Charles D'Avenant, "An Essay upon Ways and Means" (1695), *Works* (ed. Whitworth, London, 1771), I. 62, 63.

²¹ A. Burnaby, *An Essay upon the Excising of Malt*, etc. (London, 1696).

of people, who would with less murmur have paid larger amounts indirectly. It was not difficult to arouse wide-spread popular feeling against it, as Walpole found to his cost. On the other hand there can be no doubt that this form of taxation was cordially commended not only by advocates of the court, but by some of the most astute financial writers of the time, whose tradition Walpole was probably following.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

THE ELECTORAL VOTE FOR JOHN QUINCY ADAMS IN 1820

THAT the one vote in the electoral colleges of 1820 withheld from James Monroe and cast for John Quincy Adams, for President, was that of William Plumer of New Hampshire is somewhat generally known among historical writers. The reason for Plumer's action is not so well known. Indeed, most historians attribute to him an erroneous reason. They usually state that one New Hampshire elector withheld his vote from Monroe in order to prevent that statesman from sharing an honor previously accorded to Washington alone. Mr. Edward Stanwood makes a statement to this effect in the earlier editions (p. 70) of his *History of the Presidency*, but in the later editions he has corrected it (p. 118). McMaster's version is as follows:

But when the day came for the electoral colleges to meet in their respective States, an elector in New Hampshire voted for John Quincy Adams. It was due to the memory of Washington, he explained, that no other man should share with him the honor of a unanimous election to the Presidency.¹

The true reason for Plumer's action is stated in a letter that he wrote to his son, William Plumer, jr., on January 8, 1821, and that is now found in the Plumer Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress. From this letter, the following extract is taken: "I was obliged from a sense of duty and a regard to my own reputation to withhold my vote from Monroe and Tompkins; from the first because he had discovered a want of foresight and economy, and from the second because he grossly neglected his duty." Plumer voted for Richard Rush for Vice-President.

Contemporary impressions of Plumer's action possess considerable interest. His son, who was a representative in Congress, writes,

I received many congratulations on this vote of my father, from such men as Randolph, Macon, and other Republicans of the old school. Not

¹ McMaster, *History of the United States*, IV. 518.

that they liked Adams (Randolph assailed him with the fury of hereditary hate); but they disliked Monroe, whom they regarded as having adopted, chiefly from the influence of Calhoun, some of the worst heresies of the old Federal party.²

One of the New Hampshire newspapers soon after the adjournment of the New Hampshire electoral college observed,

The vote for Mr. Adams as President and Mr. Rush as Vice President, was given by the late Gov. Plumer.³ Every one who knows anything about that odd old gentleman would have guessed as much, and as his propensity to be singular and over-wise was probably ungovernable, it is well that he voted for the man who would, on the whole, be most acceptable to the people of this State as the successor of Mr. Monroe. But this vote is to be regretted, because it will probably be the only one throughout the United States in opposition to the reelection of the present incumbent, and thus to prevent a *unanimous* election will be pronounced *sheer folly*.

Before the meeting of the electoral colleges, the younger Plumer said to Adams that the elder Plumer had intimated that several electors in New Hampshire and Massachusetts were unwilling to vote for the re-election of Tompkins, but were disposed to vote for Adams as Vice-President, not with the expectation of his election but with a desire to draw attention to him and increase his prospects as a future candidate. Adams replied that he wished Monroe and Tompkins to be re-elected unanimously and not a single vote to be cast for himself, and requested Plumer to write to his father to this effect. Later, after the meeting of the electoral colleges, he said that if there was one vote in the Union that he thought sure for Monroe, it was that of Plumer. He deeply regretted Plumer's action, as it implied a disapprobation of Monroe's administration.⁵

C. O. PAULLIN.

² William Plumer, jr., *Life of William Plumer*, p. 495.

³ Meaning ex-governor. Governor Plumer did not die till 1850.

⁴ *New Hampshire Sentinel*, December 16, 1820.

⁵ *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, V. 206, 279.

DOCUMENTS

The Origin of the Regulation in North Carolina

THE Regulation has been exhaustively studied, and is still something of a *cause célèbre* in North Carolina history. The origin of the movement has remained veiled in an obscurity which the diligent efforts of innumerable investigators have hitherto failed to illumine. The contemporary work¹ ascribed to Hermon Husband, a leader of the Regulators, opens with the statement:

In Orange County the first disturbance is generally ascribed to have arisen; but Granville and Halifax Counties were deeply engaged in the same quarrel many years before Orange. . . . For though Granville County had been at war, as it were, some years before the disturbance in Orange, yet we never heard of it till it broke out in Orange.

Researches made by the writer in the records of Granville County and the state archives at Raleigh have brought to light records and documents of crucial importance which have not hitherto been known to exist, or been available to historical students.

In his *Impartial Relation* the author, presumably Husband, quotes several passages from a manuscript, by an unknown author, generally denominated "The Nutbush Paper".² The writer has recently discovered a contemporary copy of this address in its entirety, which has been missing for almost a century and a half. It is evidently in the handwriting of the author, George Sims, and is thus acknowledged by him, as well as bearing his signature in three places.

Of the author, who when this address was written had either been in Granville County but a short time or at least had formed but few acquaintances there, almost nothing can be stated at present. The Sims family settled in Granville probably before the time of

¹ *An Impartial Relation of the First Rise and Cause of the Recent Differences in Publick Affairs, in the Province of North Carolina*, printed for the Compiler (1770, pp. 104). With certain slight omissions, this work was reprinted in Wheeler's *Sketches of North Carolina*, II. 301-331. The collation was made from a copy in the library of the Philadelphia Library Company. There is also a copy in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence.

² The title, as given in Wheeler, is described as mutilated; it is made out to read as follows: "A serious address to the inhabitants of Granville County, containing an account of our deplorable situation we suffer . . . and some necessary hints with respect to a reformation." It is to be observed that the copy here printed, made for Capt. Thomas Person and prefaced with some observations of the author, carries the brief title: "An Address to the People of Granville County".

its formation in 1746; in 1747 and 1748, entries in the county records refer to Sims's Road and Joseph Sims's ferry-landing on Tarr River. Henry Sims is first mentioned in the county records in 1747; and Joseph Sims, whose name occurs in the county records in 1746, qualified as captain of the Granville County militia on May 30, 1750. The first inspector of the first government warehouse in Granville County was Benjamin Sims, appointed August 31, 1749; other members of the family mentioned in the records are William Sims (1758), John Sims (1760), and Elisha Sims (1772). In 1777 Caswell County was set off from Orange, which had been formed in 1751 from Granville, Johnston, and Bladen counties. On the roll of taxpayers, listed in Caswell County in 1790, is found the name of George Sims, under the roll for "St. David's District".³

Despite the obscurity surrounding the material facts of the life of George Sims, the paper, for all its violences of prejudice and crudities in expression, is an able statement of grievances; and as an appeal to action, it indubitably exercised a powerful influence over the minds of the yeomen of Granville. It is dedicated to Captain Thomas Person, prominent figure in the Regulation movement—the one figure in that yeoman insurrection who subsequently won high place and reputation in the colony. This paper, as the first effective summing-up of the grievances of the people, was surely a proximate cause of the Regulation.

It has been only imperfectly realized that the Regulation remotely received its initial impetus from the bipartite division of authority in the colony of North Carolina, between the agents of Lord Granville and the royal governor. When Earl Granville in 1744 united with the other Lords Proprietors in surrendering to the crown the sovereignty of the province of Carolina, he alone reserved to himself all rights as owner of the soil, in his share of the grant. Fully one-half of the province of North Carolina was embraced in Granville's district; and those who occupied lands within this district were required to pay annual quit-rents. As early as 1755 a committee of the assembly formally reported on the abuses of Lord Granville's agent and his subordinates; but no action was taken. On January 24, 1759, following vigorous protests against injustices which remained unredressed, a number of citizens seized Francis Corbin, Granville's principal agent, bore him to Enfield, where he had an office, and held him in duress until he gave a bond. Especial hostility was expressed by the disaffected toward the attorney-general of the colony, Robert Jones, jr., who was

³ *North Carolina State Records*, XXVI. 1262.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXI.—21.

also a personal favorite of Earl Granville.⁴ In his *Impartial Relation*, Husband says that when the "Nutbush paper" was circulated at a meeting of the Orange County court, August, 1767, "after we had tried to plead our own cause at the bar against extortion", "some persons who lived adjoining Granville line told us they feared that matter would ruin some of us, for that just such a case had been undertook in Granville County years ago, and that they were at law about it to that day".

The original petition by sundry of the inhabitants of Granville County, of date March 23, 1759, protests bitterly against the practice of Robert Jones, jr., in demanding exorbitant fees for his legal services, etc., and asks that he be prohibited from pleading at the Granville bar. This petition, hitherto unpublished it is believed, constitutes a fundamental document in the written history of the Regulation. The copy here presented, collated from the original records, was kindly supplied me by Dr. Thomas M. Owen, of Montgomery, director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama. This Searcy petition was read at a meeting of the Granville County court, in the presence of the justices William Person, Daniel Harris, Gideon Macon, Thomas Person, and William Hunt. The presence of Thomas Person on the bench is to be noted. In his *Impartial Relation*, Husband says that as a result of the petition, the officers sued the subscribers for a libel, indicted the author of the paper, and imprisoned him; "which lawsuits have remained to this day" (1769). It is impossible to authenticate these statements, as the third volume of the Granville County Records, for 1759-1767, has disappeared. Below follows the petition of Reuben Searcy and others; Searcy was a prominent citizen of the county, sheriff in 1763, and afterwards clerk of the county court (1771-1783). The effect of the Searcy petition is clearly perceptible; for on May 14, 1759, Robert Jones testified under oath before the governor and council that "he had heard it was intended by a great number of rioters to petition the court at Granville to silence him, the deponent, and that if no such order was made, to pull deponent by the nose and also to abuse the court". Following a formal address to the governor by the assembly on May 15, a proclamation was issued and reputed rioters were incarcerated; but the jail was immediately broken open and the prisoners set free.

⁴ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, V. lvii; *A Genealogical History*, by Col. Cadwallader Jones (1899), p. 2 *et seq.*; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, October, 1897, p. 121. Jones, called Robin, settled in Granville County as early as 1748, and during the years 1756 to 1766 served as attorney-general of the colony, alternating with Thomas Child. He was the father of Willie and Allen Jones, famous in the annals of the state. Cf., for example, *Life of John Paul Jones*, vol. I., by Mrs. Reginald De Koven (New York, 1913).

Corbin's legal actions against the rioters were prudently withdrawn, and the issues temporarily settled. The rioters lived in the counties, not only of the present Granville and Halifax, but also of Vance, Warren, Edgecombe, Wilson, Nash, and Franklin. The riot at Enfield presages the breaking-up of the court at Hillsborough in 1770; the petition of Searcy is the natural precursor of the Nutbush paper of George Sims.

As the rioters at Enfield protested against the illegal practices of Corbin, and the commoners of Granville in the Searcy petition protested against the exorbitant fees of Jones, so George Sims appeals to the inhabitants of Granville to rise against the tyrannies and exactions of Benton. The taking of extortionate fees constituted the primary and fundamental grievance of the people; but in connection with the protests against Jones, it may be mentioned that the closure of Granville's office in 1765 was on all hands cited to Governor Josiah Martin in 1771 as a chief cause of the Regulator troubles.⁵ When the people moved on to these lands, after 1765, conflicts with the colonial authorities as the result of the refusal of the people to pay taxes were inevitable.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

I. THE PETITION OF REUBEN SEARCY AND OTHERS, MARCH 23, 1759.

To the Worshipful Court of Granville County Greeting. The Petition of Sundry of the Inhabitants of the County aforesaid. We his Majesties true and faithful subjects humbly beg leave to shew your worships that notwithstanding the many Liberties Rights and Privileges granted us by his Majesty King George the Second etc. whose subjects we are and whose person Crown and dignity we are ready and willing now and at all other times to defend and do with the greatest sincerity profess true obedience and loyalty, but Liberty that dearest of names and Property that best of charters, seems to be too much detracted, as we verily believe by the illusive insinuations of Mr. Robert Jones Jr. Therefore your Petrs. humbly pray your worships to take the same into your wise and deliberate considerations and as far as in your powers lie, redress and relieve your Petrs. with many others from his unjust impositions and exorbitancy. Therefore to proceed in the first place that eloquent Gentleman through his wiles and false insinuations to which art and chicanerie he owes his great success and high preferment in this Province that we your petitioners verily believe has not only impos'd on the inferior class of mankind but has likewise impos'd on his Excellency Arthur Dobbs Esqre.⁶ Governor etc., of this Province together

⁵ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, IX. 49. Cf. Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina (1765-1771)", in *Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1894, p. 150, note. In 1761 Robert Jones was appointed Lord Granville's agent (Granville County Records, August 11, 1761). Jones died on October 2, 1766.

⁶ Arthur Dobbs, a native of Ireland, was appointed governor of North Carolina by the crown and took the oath of office on November 1, 1754. In connection with the Enfield riots, Governor Dobbs was popularly credited with showing

with his Majesties' Honourable Council that notwithstanding their wise and mature considerations together with their just honest and righteous intentions for the benefit and welfare of the inhabitants of this our Province in general, yet that gentleman thro' false and unjust Representations in matters relating to our County of Granville hath prevailed on his Excellency and Honours aforesd to issue a Commission of Peace for our said County thereby leaving out of said Commission several worthy gentlemen that were very serviceable and beneficial to our said County and more especially to the upper inhabitants thereof for the lack of which magistrates or a sufficient number of such your petitioners labour under great disadvantages and inconveniences and also Justice likely to be much retarded which certainly is very disagreeable to your worships as well as petitioners. And furthermore the Legislature of the Province have in their wise and deliberate consideration allowed and stated a set fee very sufficient for an Attorney practising in our said Province to have and receive for his care and trouble in prosecuting Suits in any of our Courts of Judicature but Mr. Jones instead of the fee allow'd by law frequently demands and receives double that fee without any matter or remorse of conscience, so that it has become a general practice and custom among chief of our Attornies, and by the great volubility of speech and the superiority that he by his wiles insinuations and chicanerie as aforesd. has insinuated himself into, very frequently works on the passions of weak juries to blind their conception of Justice in order to gain his point so that men flock daily to him to commence very trivial and frivolous lawsuits which tends to the great disadvantage and prejudice of our inhabitants for all which insults and injuries your petitioners humbly beg your worships to exclude and prohibit the sd Mr. Jones from pleading at our barr for the future and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

II. AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GRANVILLE COUNTY BY GEORGE SIMS.⁷

"Save my country, Heaven!" shall be my Last.⁸ Pope.

Dedicated to Capt Thomas Person.⁹

by his
Obt. Hmble. Servt.
G. SIMS.

TO CAPT. THOS. PERSON.

Sir.

The honour you do me by requesting a copy of my address to the inhabitants of Granville County does not raise my vanity to such a height; a friendly disposition toward the rioters. Upon his death at the age of eighty-two, on March 28, 1765, he was succeeded as governor by William Tryon, who proved singularly unsympathetic with the regulating element in respect to their alleged grievances.

⁷ For the collation with the original manuscript, until recently hidden away in the Capitol building, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. R. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

⁸ Ending of epistle I. of Pope's *Moral Essays*.

⁹ Known in history as General Thomas Person; born January 19, 1733, died November 16, 1800. Began life as surveyor for Lord Granville; sheriff of Granville County (1762), justice of the peace (1759, 1763, 1764), representative in as-

but what I am mortified down to the lowest degree imaginable, at the thoughts of granting your request. Not, because it contains any thing, either false, or criminal. I wish from my heart the facts therein related were not so notorious as they are: But the mortifying reflection is this, I wrote it for the common people to understand, and therefore took not the pains to be methodical, as I should have done, if I had known, or imagined, it would ever have come within the Scrutiny of Gentlemen. I do not intend by this Sir, to insinuate that I could write so methodically, as to stand the test of a critic, or in other words to commence author. Were I to entertain such a vain conceit, I should be afraid the very trees in the forest, rocks, hills, and vallies, would all resound the echo of that vain thought to my eternal shame and confusion. But, forasmuch as the facts treated of, whether generally, or particularly, are so notorious, and the conclusions so natural, that, it is no hard matter for me to compose a subject of this nature methodically enough to bear at least a perusal among Gentlemen, who are acquainted with my Circumstances. Because where nothing extraordinary can reasonably be expected, no great disappointment can happen, if nothing extraordinary be found. However, as I had not the presence of mind to make these reflections before it was too late, I gave you my promise, from which I cannot now in honour recind, therefore, I have this request to make, which I hope you will be candid enough to comply with; I do imagine, that you will communicate it to Gentlemen of penetration, and as I am positive, that, it will not bear criticising on; either in the orthographical, or grammatical perfections, I insist, that, at your leisure, you would correct those deficiencies, which are too egregious to bear the sight of a Critic at ten yards distance, that is if you intend to shew it to any Gentleman, who has not yet seen it. Otherwise, I do not care, since you are acquainted with the Author, you will easily look over the imperfections of the performance without censure; Since you cannot expect any accurate performance from so small abilities, which, however small, the person who is endowed with them, is proud of nothing more, than the honour of subscribing himself your very hble Servt.

G. SIMS.

N.B. I imagine it may be a matter of mirth to some Gentlemen to see my writing appear in the method of an Author, having a dedication prefixed. However let such remember, that as to the subject, I write the truth, and as to form, I write in my own Style.

I am yrs. etc. G. SIMS.

Gentlemen, You are chiefly strangers to me, there are very few of you, that I am personally acquainted with, and I imagine that some of you begin to wonder, what I am going to offer to a company of men that I know nothing of. However, Gentlemen, when I consider myself as a member of Granville County, I am no longer a stranger among you, but a brother of that community to which you all belong, and as such, I look

sembly for Granville 1764, 1768-1785 continuously, 1788-1790, 1793, 1794; senator in assembly 1787, 1791; elected (May 11, 1784) to Continental Congress, but never took his seat. The most vigorous democrat and vehement champion of the rights of the common people; leading Regulator and able adviser in their cause; included by Gov. Tryon in the list of those excepted from the benefit of pardon; captured and imprisoned; secured his release and was never brought to trial. Cf. sketches: S. B. Weeks, in *N. C. Booklet*, IX. 1; and T. B. Kingsbury, in *Weekly Star*, Wilmington, N. C., July 20, 1877.

upon it as my indispensable duty, to exert myself in vindication of those rights and privileges which our Constitution has endowed us with, when either persons or things endeavour to destroy them, and as this is evidently the case at this present juncture, I think it is high time we should all exert ourselves, in our defence against the common evil, which has almost overrun our land, and this is the motive Gentlemen, which induced me to desire a convention, and an audience of you, that I may lay before you, those grievances which oppress our land. Not, because you do not know it Gentlemen; but, because you do, and that by knowing it, you may the more cheerfully join with me, in such methods as I shall propose, for the recovery of our native rights and privileges and to clear our country of those public nuisances which predominate with such tyrannical sway. And, I hope to see you all unanimously zealous and combine as one man to throw off the heavy yoke, which is cast upon our necks, and resume our ancient liberties and privileges, as free subjects. Who under God are governed by his august Majesty George the third, whom God preserve. And in order to explain myself on this subject, I shall undertake 1st. To explain what law is, when abstractedly considered. 2ndly. The utility or use of every human negative, and positive law. 3rdly. I shall undertake to shew the most notorious and intolerable abuses, which have crept into the practice of the law in this Country. 4thly. The mischief which necessarily flows from, or follows the abuse of the law, and the absolute necessity there is for a reformation. 5thly. Propound such methods to effect this reformation as appears to me most probable of success. And, Lastly, I shall recommend the whole to your serious consideration, and insist that we be no longer strangers when the common evil, which we groan under, calls so loudly for our interposition. Therefore let us unite as brothers of one community, to recover our privileges, which are trampled under foot, by a handful of wretches, who are fitter for halters than Officers¹⁰ of a Court. In the first place it is no hard

¹⁰ Foot-note in original manuscript: "Let it be remembered that whenever I mention Officers of the Court (which is a summary comprehension of the ministers of Justice if largely taken) I mean no more than, Clerks, Lawyers, and Sheriffs, and not the Wpl. members of the Bench, whose authority I revere, and hold them in the highest veneration."

The particular objects of the distrust of the inhabitants of Granville County were Robert Jones, attorney-general of the colony and agent of Lord Granville; and Samuel Benton, colonel of the Granville County militia, and clerk of the county court; but other county officers and lawyers generally were complained against. There are certain conspicuous exceptions to those in bad odor with the disaffected. Among the "worshipful members of the bench" (Justices of the county court) during the period referred to, who, in the language of Sims, were "revered" and "held in the highest veneration", were Thomas Person, Reuben Searcy, Gideon Macon, and Richard Henderson. For Thomas Person, *cf.* note 9 *supra*. Reuben Searcy was the author of the trenchant protest against Robert Jones, jr. Gideon Macon, an emigrant from Virginia, was the father of the democratic statesmen, Nathaniel Macon, the friend and intimate of Jefferson. Richard Henderson was a young attorney whose "amazing talents and general praise had not created him a single enemy"; in appointing him to the highest court in the colony, the governor in a letter to the Earl of Shelburne said of him that he lived among a people who "will be happy at having such a distinction paid to one who resides among them, and for whom they entertain an esteem." (*N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII. 697.) Later, protests were made in both Orange and Granville against sheriffs who were grossly in arrears in their accounts. Conspicuous exceptions were Thomas Hart, who, as sheriff of Orange, was proved to have been "not a farthing out in his accounts" (*N. C. Col. Rec.*, VIII. 233); and Samuel Henderson, sheriff of Granville, to whom, upon examination of his accounts, the county was found to be in arrears and the account was allowed (Granville County Records, June 19, 1759).

matter to explain what law is; neither is it very material to my purpose whether I explain it or not; but as I promised to do it, and, because it may in some sort give us an idea of laws in general, and their obliging power; I shall explain it in the words of the learned Mr. Dawson,¹¹ who in his treatise of the origin of law, Says, That law is the rule of acting, or not acting, laid down by some intelligent being, having authority for so doing. This, Gentlemen, though it is short, yet it is a comprehensive description of all laws, whether divine or human, whether natural or revealed, negative or positive. And, without entering into definitions of particular laws, or tedious observations on the nature and property of Laws, I shall descend to the second proposal which was to shew the general utility or use of laws. And I may venture to affirm that the laws of all well regulated Societies will aptly fall under one of these three general heads or divisions. 1st. To secure men's persons from death and violence. 2ndly. To dispose of the property of their goods and lands. And 3rdly. For the preservation of their good names from shame and infamy. Under one of these three general heads, I say the laws of all well regulated societies will aptly fall; The further any system of law deviates from these great and general ends, the nearer it approaches to those systems of law, which are the productions of despotism and tyranny. But we are the people Gentlemen, who have the happiness of being born under one of the most perfect forms of government in the known world. We are a part of that stupendous whole, which constitutes the glorious, and formidable kingdom of Great Britain. The Sceptre of which is swayed by his present Majesty, George the third, of the royal house of Hanover, and right heir to the crown, and royal dignity, according to a Protestant succession, settled by an act of parliament in the reign of Queen Ann of blessed Memory. We are the subjects, I say, of this august monarch, who in conjunction with the united power and authority of the Lords spiritual, Lords temporal, and house of Commons, maintain and uphold this inimitable System of law, which his royal ancestors, and their predecessors, have from time to time enacted, and established for the safety of his kingdom, and the benefit of his leige subjects, by securing our person from death and violence: By disposing of the property of our goods and lands, and by providing methods for the preservation of our good names from shame and infamy. All these privileges, Gentlemen, we dare to call our own, under the protection of that (almost) immutable system of law, which is confirmed by the triple combined authority of the King, Lords, and Commons, as you have heard before and transfered by them to all his Majesty's plantations in North America, and else where as a model to form their laws by, and as a touchstone to try the validity of such laws, as shall be enacted by any Legislative power, within his Majesty's extensive Dominions.

This, Gentlemen, is the inexhaustible fountain, the source whence we draw our claims to these privileges that our situation as free subjects undoubtedly entitles us to, And that we may be provided with such laws, as the particular circumstance of our province, may from time to time require.

We have an assembly, which somewhat resembles that grand tripartite conjunction of the King's authority, Lords, and Commons. Here we have a Governor, Council, and an Assembly of Representatives chosen

¹¹ George Dawson, *Origo Legum; or, a Treatise of the Origin of Laws, and their Obliging Power* (London, 1694).

by the populous¹² to enact laws for the benefit of the Commonwealth, as occasion may require in conformity to the laws aforesaid. And I suppose, they have answered those ends, or whether they have, or have not, is a matter, which I shall not now undertake to determine. However, we have a set of laws peculiar to this Province, for a System I cannot call them, because they are mostly temporary and subject to change.

There is none that I know of, if they were honestly complied with, that would not answer the end intended by our great Legislature at home; except, it be some petit private acts in favour of some particular persons, who by false insinuations and sinister practices have obtained the same, which, I shall treat of in their proper places. Well, Gentlemen, it is not our mode, or form of Government, nor yet the body of our laws, that we are quarrelling with, but with the malpractices of the Officers of our County Court, and the abuses which we suffer by those empowered to manage our public affairs; this is the grievance, Gentlemen, which demands our solemn attention, and in order to make it evident, I shall according to my promise in the third place shew the notorious and intolerable abuses which have crept into the practice of the law in this county, (and I do not doubt in the other counties also, though that does not concern us). In the first place, it is well known, that there is a law which provides that a lawyer shall take no more than 15/ for his fee in the County Court. Well, Genl. which of you have had your business done for 15/ ? Do not the Lawyers exact 30s for every cause, and 3, 4, or 5 pounds for every cause that is attended with the least difficulty? Yes: they do Gentlemen, and laugh at our stupidity and tame submission to these damned extravagancies. And besides the double fees, which they exact from you, do they not lengthen out your lawsuits, by artifices and delays, so long as they perceive you have any money to grease their fists with? And numberless other devilish devices to rob you of your livings in a manner diametrically opposite to the policy of our State, and the intention of our Legislature. I dare engage for you all, Gentlemen in the affirmative, I believe there is none here at present, but what must acknowledge that this is exactly the Case. Well, Gentlemen, if there were no more public evils, this, alone is sufficient [in] a little while to ruin our County in these litigious times. But hear another evil greater by far, if possible.¹³ Mr Benton in his former, and in his

¹² Populace.

¹³ First heard of in Granville County, N. C., on January 2, 1752, when he produced his commission as justice of the peace. On July 6, 1756, he was in prison and refused to serve when appointed justice of the peace (*N. C. Col. Rec.*, V. 591); acted as justice of the county court in the years 1752-1755, 1763, 1764, and perhaps at other times; colonel Granville County militia, 1765; clerk of the court from 1765 until the time of his death shortly prior to April 17, 1770; representative in the general assembly from Granville County in 1760, 1761, 1762 (April and November), 1764-1765, 1766-1768. The Granville County Records show him to have been prominent and active in county affairs, notably as commissioner for the erection of a court house, gaol, stocks, and whipping-post. At various times he presented bills for his services against the county, running up into hundreds of pounds. He was the grandfather of Thomas Hart Benton, the famous statesman, who was born (March 14, 1782) near Hillsborough, on the old road to Haw River, about half a mile from the river Enoe, where stood the mill of Thomas Hart. Samuel Benton's son, Jesse, the father of Thomas Hart Benton, was a representative in the assembly in 1781, lieutenant-colonel of militia, and accompanied Judge Richard Henderson on his journey over the Wilderness Road to Kentucky in 1775. Cf. the erroneous account of Thomas Hart Benton's forbears in the biography by W. M. Meigs (Philadelphia, 1904).

present capacity, is a subject worth a particular scrutiny. View him but in his former, and then view him in his present capacity, and make an estimate of the services he has done you, in requital for the favour you did him by taking him out of prison, or what was next door to it, and sending him Burgess. He was universally esteemed a person calculated for what is called a poor mans Burgess, and indeed he has proved a poor mans Burgess, he forgot that you sent him to do your business, Gentlemen, his mind (like his eyes) is turned inward, and all his transactions below have been for the benefit of that dear self of his, which is so much in his own good graces, that he is plundering his County to enrich that dear object! You had a great deal of reason, I acknowledge, Gentlemen, to imagine that a person who had suffered by the malpractices of others would make a benevolent patriot, when in a public capacity; but how much have probabilities deceived you; judge ye!

He is Colo. Benton, now chief Officer in our military affairs, he is Clerk Benton, chief Clerk of our County Court, in which double capacity I believe, Gentlemen, there is None [of] us that envies him, but in the execution of his office. I believe there are none of us that have the good of the Commonwealth at heart, but must resent the usage he gives us here. The Clerks tell us there is no law to ascertain their fees, and therefore they are at liberty to tax our bills as they please, and the misfortune is Gentlemen, that we are obliged to pay it, be it what it may; I think, Gentlemen, if there be no law to ascertain the Clerk's fees, there is no law to compel us to pay any fees at all. However, let us see what advantage Benton the poor mans Burgess makes of this deficiency in our law, if you give a judgment Bond for five pounds only, and this Bond goes into Court, the Clerk for only entering it on the Court docquet and issuing an Execution, charges you with forty one shillings and five pence, I had it from Benton's own mouth, at which time he vapoured as high, and with the same confidence that a fighting gamester has, who is endowed with courage of a highwayman, with oaths and execrations that he had taken it and would take it.

However, Gentlemen, I hope you will disappoint him, I am determined till he produces law that shews me what the fees are, to pay no fees at all, and I hope you will all follow the example, and see where Benton will get his obliging power to compel us to pay them. All these abuses are founded upon so false a basis, that [the] least resistance will overturn the whole mass. For, where there is no law, there is no transgression in not complying with the arbitrary demands of a lawless Officer, and where the law gives a right, the same law will give a remedy, when this law is violated, and that our rights and privileges are violated in the highest degree is manifest, not only from what has been said, but from the daily practices of our Officer. It is time, and high time, Gentlemen, that we should endeavour to save our sinking County from the impending ruin, which will be the necessary consequence of these cursed practices. I told you Gentlemen, I would undertake to sum up the abuses, which have crept into the practice of the law in this County. I have indeed undertaken it, but if my paper would permit, I am positive your patience would not. To say all that might be said on this subject alone would fill a large volume; therefore, I must abridge the catalogue, that I may perform my promise in other particulars; but remember by the way, the hardships that we suffer by building the courthouse etc. for Benton to bring grist to his own mill: But I shall treat of this subject with an instrument prepared to regulate this hardship.

And therefore I shall proceed to the 4th proposal, which was to shew the mischief that naturally flows as a consequence from these cursed practices, and whatever I say Gentlemen, to illustrate this melancholy subject. Need I mention one instance to set forth the misery which we groan under? Does not daily experience shew us the gaping jaws of ruin, open, and ready to devour us? Are not your lands executed, your negroes, horses, cattle, hogs, corn, beds, and household furniture? Are not these things, I say, taken and sold for one tenth of their value? Not to satisfy the just debts which you have contracted; but to satisfy the cursed exorbitant demands of the Clerks, Lawyers and Sheriffs. Here they take your lands which perhaps are worth four or five hundred pounds, and sell them at public vendue for about forty or fifty pounds. And who buys? Why the same villians who have taken your negroes and other personal estate, and have the County's money in their hands. This has furnished them with money to buy off the rest of your livings, at the same rates as you have heard. It is reasonable Gentlemen, that these Officers should be allowed such fees, as may give them a genteel maintenance, but then is it reasonable that they should rob the County to support themselves in such damned extravagancies, and laugh at us for being such simpletons as to suffer it? No: Gentlemen, there is no reason that I know of; except they want to reduce us down to that despicable state whence they rose, and a pitiful estate it was, Gentlemen. There were none of our arbitrary Governors, whose descent were not as obscure, and dispicable, as their transactions in a public capacity have been base and illegal. But it is a received maxim among the unhappy subjects of electoral Dominions, that they have the most to fear from a King who hops from the dunghill to the throne. But to return from my disagreeable digression, let us make an estimate of the difference between getting our livings by honest industry and getting them by these cursed practices. We will suppose ourselves all to be men, who labour for our livings, and there is a poor man among us, who has dealt for about 4 or 5 pounds in such things as his family could not possibly do without, and in hopes of being spared from the lash of the law till he can sell some of his effects to raise the money; he gives a judgment bond to his Merchant, and before he can accomplish his design his bond is thrown into Court, and Benton the poor mans Burgess has it to enter on the Court docquet and issue an execution the work of one long minute. Well, Gentlemen, what has our poor neighbour to pay Mr. Benton for his trouble? Why, nothing but the trifling sum of forty one shillings and five pence. Well he is a poor man, and cannot raise the money. We will suppose Mr. Benton condescends to come to terms with him. Come (says he) and work. I have a large field and my corn wants weeding (or something like that). I will give you 1/6 a day, which is the common wages of a labourer in these times till you pay it off because you are a poor man, and a neighbour I will not take away your living. Well how many days work has our honest neighbour to pay Mr. Benton for his trouble and expense in writing about a minute? Why, he must work something more than 27 days before he is clear of his clutches. Well the poor man reflects within himself. At this rate says he when shall I maintain my own family. I have a wife and a parcel of small children suffering at home and I have none to labour but myself, and here I have lost a month's work and I do not know for what, my merchant not yet paid, I do not know what will be the end of these things;

however, I will go home, and try what I can do towards getting a living. Stay neighbour, you must not go home, you are not half done yet, there is a damned Lawyers mouth to stop before you go any further, you empowered him to confess that you owed £5., and you must pay him 30/ for that, or, else go and work nineteen days for that pick-pocket at the same rate, and when that is done, you must work as many days for the Sheriff, for his trouble, and then go home and see your living wrecked and tore to pieces to satisfy your merchant.

Well Gentlemen, if this were the case, would it not be a melancholy thing? But it is worse by ten degrees than any thing that you have yet heard. It is not a persons labour, nor yet his effects that will do, but if he has but one horse to plow with, one bed to lie on, or one cow to give a little milk for his children, they must all go to raise money which is not to be had. And lastly if his personal estate (sold at one tenth of its value) will not do, then his lands (which perhaps has cost him many years toil and labour) must go the same way to satisfy these cursed hungry caterpillars, that are eating and will eat out the bowels of our Commonwealth, if they be not pulled down from their nests in a very short time, and what need I say, Gentlemen, to urge the necessity there is for a reformation. If these things were absolutely according to law, it would be enough to make us turn rebels, and throw off all submission to such tyrannical laws. For, if these things were tolerated, it would rob us of the very means of living, and it would be better for us to die in defence of our privileges, than to live slaves to a handful of Scapegallows, or perish for want of the means of subsistence. But, as these practices are diametrically opposite to the law, it is our absolute duty, as well as our Interest, to put a stop to them, before they quite ruin our County. Or, Are become the willing slaves of these lawless Officers, and hug our chains of bondage and remain contented under these accumulated calamities? No, Gentlemen, I hope better things of you, I believe there are very few of you, who have not felt the weight of their Iron fists and I hope there are none of you, but what will lend a helping hand towards bringing about this necessary work. And in order to bring it about effectually, we must proceed with circumspection, not fearfully, Gentlemen, but carefully, and therefore, it will be necessary to mention certain rules to be observed in our proceedings. And first, let us be careful to keep sober, that we do nothing rashly; but act with deliberation. Secondly, Let us do nothing against the known and established laws of our land, that we may not appear as a faction endeavouring to subvert the laws, and overturn our system of government. But, let us appear what we really are, To wit, free subjects by birth, endeavouring to recover our native rights according to law, and to reduce the malpractices of the Officers of our Court down to the standard of law. For, we must remember that it is not the Body of our laws, we are fighting with, this would be the highest folly, since it is the known established law of our land, that is a bulwark to defend those privileges, which we are contending for, except there be any late private acts, that favour them in these devilish practices, if there be any such law, I say, Gentlemen, it deviates from the use of the law, which I cited to you in the beginning and consequently derogatory from the System of the laws of England, and so we are bound by no authority to submit to them, but there are no such laws that I know of. Thirdly, Let us behave ourselves with circumspection to the Worshipful Court inasmuch as they

represent his Majesty's person, we ought to reverence their authority both sacred, and inviolable, except they interpose, and then Gentlemen, the toughest will hold out longest. Let us deliver them a remonstrance, setting forth the necessity there is for a suspension of court business, till we have a return from the Governor, in answer to the petition, which we shall send to his Excellency on the occasion. The remonstrance to their Worships, and the petition to his Excellency I have ready drawn, which I shall communicate to you after I have made my last proposal, which is this, I promised that the last paragraph should be a recommendation of the whole to your serious consideration, and insist upon some points necessary to be concluded on; but as all that has been said is so self evident, and the matter so important, that I am in hopes, you have all considered the subject, and made such conclusions as may inspire a *resentment against the abuses which we suffer, therefore, my proposal is* this, I am a stranger, I say to the chief of you. I have not moved in these matters out of any vain ostentation, or any private pique that I have against any of our arbitrary Governors, but a true zeal for the good of my County, was the only motive, which induced me; neither do I desire the preeminence in any thing among you, I am a stranger, I say, therefore it may be, that you have not that confidence in me, which you can repose in some of your acquaintances whose resolution you know will answer the end of these undertakings. If so Gentlemen, name the man, I will be the first on his list to follow him through fire and water, life and death if it be required in defence of my privileges, and if you choose me for your leader I can do no more. Here I am this day with my life in my hand, to see my fellow subjects animated with a spirit of liberty and freedom, and to see them lay a foundation for the recovery thereof, and the clearing our County from arbitrary tyranny.

God save the King

Nutbush¹⁴ Granville County

6th June 1765.

¹⁴ A settlement on Nutbush Creek, which runs through the northern part of what is now Vance and Warren counties, formerly Granville County.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools. By HENRY JOHNSON, Professor of History, Teachers College, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xxix, 497.)

THIS work is the most important contribution to the voluminous literature of historical pedagogy which has appeared since the publication of Professor H. E. Bourne's *The Teaching of History and Civics* in 1902. A comparison of the two books shows a remarkable development in the intervening thirteen years. A few points of contrast between the two may be noted in order to show this advance. No invidious criticism of the earlier work is intended; for it is agreed that Professor Bourne's book was for years the best book on the subject, and his friends know that Professor Bourne could give a much better treatment of the subject to-day. Both works agree in devoting a chapter or a large part of a chapter to the meaning of history, to historical method, to aims and values, to the history of history-teaching in Germany, France, and the United States, to collateral reading, and to the use of original material. These chapters make up about one-third of Bourne's work and about two-fifths of Johnson's. The remainder of Bourne's book is devoted to a discussion of school programmes and to a running comment upon the course of study (290 pp.), both in history and civics, in the high schools and the grades; and there is one chapter (21 pp.) on Methods of Teaching History. The remainder of Johnson's work contains chapters upon the following topics: the Problem of Grading History, the Biographical Approach to History, the Study of Social Groups, Making the Past Real, the Use of Models and Pictures, the Use of Maps, Text-Books in History, the Use of Text-Books, the Correlation of History with Other Subjects, the History Examination. There is thus a marked contrast in the actual material covered in over one-half of the two works. In 1902 we were still passing through the trials of making curricula and syllabi, following upon the report of the Committee of Seven; in 1915, although the content of curriculum and of syllabus has not yet been determined—and let us hope it never will be permanently established—yet our main endeavor is to aid the teacher in the practical class-room management of any period of history. The thirteen years of history-teaching have seen a transfer of emphasis from the content of the course to the character of instruction given to the class; and the most casual inspection of the two works shows how great has been the progress in this direction.

Although Professor Johnson's book may thus be taken as a product of the new attitude toward history-teaching, his treatment of every topic is fresh, interesting, original, and in some respects unique. There is a complete absence of pedagogical cant—Herbart is mentioned but twice and then only in historical connections. There are no carping criticisms of poor methods, only abundant teaching by example of good methods. We have here a true scholar, a good teacher, and a sincere friend who is willing to place the results of his wide scholarship and his very extensive teaching experience at the command of all his fellow history-teachers.

The critical chapters—those dealing with the meaning of history, with the materials of history, with the aims and values of history-teaching, and with the grading of history—are models of clear, logical thinking expressed in simple but concrete language. The distinction between the *aims* and the *values* of history-teaching is particularly pertinent:

Worthy aims are easy to formulate and the logic of their realization is easy to establish. Worthy results are, therefore, easily accepted as foregone conclusions. In this way any subject can be proved valuable. History alone can be proved almost equal to the task of regenerating the world. The problem unfortunately is not so simple. Worthy aims may or may not be followed by worthy results (p. 55).

And again in discussing the need for historical accuracy even in elementary history work:

For most subjects . . . what is taught as truth in the schoolroom should be found true also in the world beyond the schoolroom. History is one of the exceptions. Historical truth, if taken seriously, suggests historical science, and the road to historical science is, for many educators, barred at the outset by the culture-epoch theory or some other theory (p. 58).

This is delicious; and then follows—if we “should undertake to teach beginners primitive arithmetic, or primitive geography, or primitive spelling, the plan would at once be pronounced absurd. Why it should be less absurd for history is not altogether clear” (p. 59).

In the historical chapters Professor Johnson gives much new material upon the development of history-teaching drawn from a wide reading of the sources from the Middle Ages down to the present, and strengthened by personal acquaintance not only with curricula, but also with class-room instruction in England, France, Austria, and Germany. Detailed study of history instruction in these countries is supplemented by references to courses of study in Sweden, Belgium, Russia, Italy, and Spain. It is fair to state that the chapter on history instruction in Europe is the most comprehensive study of the subject which has appeared in any language. Yet in spite of the abundant materials at the command of the author, the chapter is not unduly expanded at the expense of the more practical topics.

But it is in the chapters dealing with practical methods that one feels the power of an excellent teacher. There is here a pervading faith in the history-teacher and a deep knowledge of children gained from actual contact with elementary and high school classes. No method is advocated which is not illustrated with concrete examples gathered from actual class-room lessons. The use of maps, pictures, collateral reading, text-books, and examinations are all treated in the same fresh, concrete manner. The teacher has well exemplified his precepts in the book he has given us.

Lack of space forbids a description of the five valuable bibliographical and pedagogical appendixes, but these are of a character proportioned to the rest of the volume.

ALBERT E. MCKINLEY.

The Antiquity of Man. By ARTHUR KEITH, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1915. Pp. xx, 519, 189 illustrations.)

ON account of the war, this work did not appear until one year after the proofs were corrected. In it the problem of man's antiquity is approached from the viewpoint of the anatomist. The author was already known to American readers by virtue of a little volume entitled: *Ancient Types of Man*, that appeared some four years ago in *Harper's Library of Living Thought* series. In the meantime however much has happened, the most important event being the discovery of an ancient type of man at Piltdown, Sussex.

Dr. Keith's initial chapter deals with the neolithic race, that built certain megalithic monuments of Kent. This race is long-headed and short of stature, not very different from a modern group of English people of the industrial class. The most pronounced differences are to be seen in the teeth and the lower limbs. This type characterizes the later neolithic period in England. It is a variant of the earliest neolithic race in England, represented by the Trent or Muskham skull and called by Huxley the "river-bed type". This type is also found in Spain, France, Switzerland, North Germany, and Scandinavia; likewise in Egypt of the Sixth Dynasty, which is contemporaneous with the neolithic of England.

According to the author, the early neolithic period corresponds to the period of the submerged forests. At that time the estuary of the Thames was far out in the North Sea just west of the Dogger Bank. Since then there has been a filling of the valley due to submergence. At Tilbury below London in 1883, the early neolithic valley bottom was met with at a depth of thirty-two feet below the level of the marsh. Some three feet deeper a human skeleton was found. It is supposed to represent the people of the submerged-forest era, and to have been deposited there anywhere from seven to twelve thousand years ago. The Tilbury skull is also of the river-bed type.

From the river-bed type, the author passes to a consideration of the later palaeolithic population of Europe as represented by the remains from Engis, Cro-Magnon, Grotte des Enfants, Brünn, and Combe-Capelle. In his opinion, the two Grimaldi individuals from the Grotte des Enfants belong to an aberrant Cro-Magnon form rather than to a different race. Both are of Aurignacian age. During the later palaeolithic period, Europe was inhabited by tall and rather distinct races having long narrow heads, and brains that were capable of conceiving and appreciating works of genuine artistic merit.

Going back a step further, we come to the Mousterian epoch, that of the Neandertal race, which the author synchronizes with the 50-foot terrace of the Thames valley (known on the Continent as the low terrace). *Homo neandertalensis* was a type quite distinct from the men of Cro-Magnon and Combe-Capelle. Its skeletal remains have been found from Gibraltar in the south to the Neander valley in the north, and from the island of Jersey to Krapina in Croatia.

Of pre-Mousterian races the author has much to say. Traces of them are found in the 100-foot terrace of the lower Thames valley. The skull found by Mr. W. M. Newton at Dartford is supposed to be of Acheulian age; while the skeleton from the gravel pit at Galley Hill is assigned to the still more remote Chellean epoch. The skeleton recently found under a layer of chalky boulder clay at Ipswich is accepted as authentic and consequently referred to a pre-Chellean stage, although anatomically it differs little from a neolithic or even modern skeleton. That it should be wholly different in type and at the same time be nearly as old as *Homo heidelbergensis* interposes in the mind of Dr. Keith no serious difficulties. Future discoveries may prove him to be right; the more conservative thinkers however, would not endeavor to anticipate the discoveries.

Much space is rightly reserved for a consideration of the skull from Piltdown. In his capacity as human anatomist, Dr. Keith believes that future discoveries will prove that the remains of *Eoanthropus dawsoni* represent the first trace yet found of a Pliocene form of man, and that Dr. Smith Woodward is justified in creating for it a new genus of the family Hominidae.

The author's conclusions are given a final apt and brief expression in the form of a combined anthropoid and human genealogical tree, which is put forth as a working hypothesis. A bit of his personality has gone into the pages of this interesting book, which should be widely read.

GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY.

The History of Melanesian Society. By W. H. R. RIVERS, F.R.S.,
Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. In two volumes.
(Cambridge: The University Press. 1914. Pp. xii, 400; 610.)

A CONTRIBUTION by Dr. Rivers is always an event in ethnology. His work on *The Todas* of Southern India ranks among the best descriptive

monographs, while his chapters on marriage, relationship, social organization, in the fifth and sixth volumes of the *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* are notable for the methodological care with which the author has handled some of the delicate problems involved.

In his latest work, *The History of Melanesian Society*, the result of a preliminary survey of the field conducted under the auspices of the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition to Melanesia, Dr. Rivers has amassed considerable new material on that ethnographic area, which has heretofore been known chiefly for its highly elaborate decorative art. These concrete data are discussed in volume I. The main interest of the work, however, not alone for the anthropologist, but also for the sociologist and the historian, lies in the second volume, in which the author attempts a systematic albeit hypothetical reconstruction of the outlines of Melanesian history.

No adequate presentation can here be given of the argument constituting volume II.; a brief outline must suffice. The volume opens with a morphological analysis of systems of relationship leading to the conclusion that these reflect social organization and in particular states of marriage, and that a definite correlation exists between relatives designated by certain terms and certain social functions (pp. 43-45). On the basis of these generalizations, the author reconstructs a hypothetical initial stage of Melanesian society consisting of a dual organization with maternal descent and the rule of old men (gerontocracy) who monopolize all the women of the group. During this early period must have developed a realization of the definite relation between father and child and the transition must have occurred from communism to individual marriage (pp. 46-69). The progress of social organization is traced by the author from a maternal dual organization, through a stage of totemism, to a social system without clan organization (p. 85). These analyses as well as an illuminating study of descent, inheritance, and succession (chs. XVIII. and XIX.) resolve themselves in the following significant statement:

The inquiry conducted in this chapter has led to the conclusion that matrilineal descent is a feature of Melanesian society which now possesses far less significance than in the past. In some places it is only perhaps the last relic of a condition of mother-right which once governed the whole social life of the people; which regulated marriage, directed the transmission of property, and, where chieftainship existed at all, determined its nature of succession while many other aspects of social life were altogether governed by the ideas of relationship arising out of this condition (II. 102-103).

It will be seen that Dr. Rivers's view, if accepted, would lend strong support to the opinion of those who still believe in the former prevalence of a matriarchal state of society.

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXI.—22.

Up to this point the author's analysis takes the form of a reconstruction along evolutionary lines. Follows a linguistic analysis of the terms of relationship, which leads to the conception that the culture of Melanesia is historically complex (pp. 173-204). With the theory of complexity in mind, the author proceeds to analyse the secret societies, which show evidence of immigrant derivation. Thus the content of the rituals of these societies and the accompanying beliefs become the standard henceforth to be applied as a test of foreign *v.* indigenous culture (pp. 206-233). The historical strata thus revealed are then associated with the dual people, the kava and betel peoples, and recent Micronesian and Polynesian influences (pp. 242-290).

Chapter XXVIII. contains an interesting theoretical analysis of the general geographical and socio-psychological factors involved in migrations.

The remaining part of the volume is devoted to a systematic survey and reinterpretation of the various aspects of Melanesian culture in terms of the four hypothetical strata. Thus payment for the bride and ceremonial avoidances are assigned to the kava and dual peoples (pp. 310-336); totemism is revolved into two historically distinct groups, linked and non-linked totemism, the linkage being due to two successive migrations of totemic peoples (pp. 336-373); conventionalization in art is even re-defined as a product of the mixture of two peoples, one with a geometrical, the other with a realistic art (pp. 373-383); money is ascribed to the conditions arising when two largely independent communities live side by side (p. 393); the introduction of religion is assigned to the kava people, while the dual people practised magic (pp. 404-422); sun and moon worship come from the kava people (pp. 425-426), while stone work is due to ideas introduced by them (p. 429; *cf.* Rivers's article "Sun-Cult and Megaliths in Oceania", *American Anthropologist*, July-September, 1915); the bow and arrow belong to that branch of the dual people designated as "those who interred their dead in the sitting position" as well as to the kava people, among both of whom the art became subsequently lost [*sic!*]; the plank-canoe belongs to the kava as well as the betel peoples, while the dug-out originated with the dual people. In chapter XXXVI. the analysis, on similar lines, is extended to Melanesian languages, chapter XXXVII. is devoted to a subsidiary reinterpretation of the culture of the Bismarck Archipelago, while in chapter XXXVIII. the culture of the dual people themselves is shown to be historically complex.

The hypothetical structure erected by Dr. Rivers is imposing, while the supporting argument is so complex and intricate, that in the minds of many assent to the author's position will no doubt be prompted by the arduousness of the task of refutation. It must suffice here to point out that the sweeping use made by the author of the principle of diffusion of culture is methodologically altogether unjustifiable and must of necessity lead to the gravest errors in historical reconstruction. The key-

note to the author's method is contained in his own statement: "This method has been the formulation of a working hypothetical scheme to form a frame-work into which the facts are fitted, and the scheme is regarded as satisfactory only if the facts can thus be fitted so as to form a coherent whole, all parts of which are consistent with one another" (II. 586). A method such as this, while admirably suited to the conceptualizations applied in the domain of the exact sciences, breaks down completely when the task is that of disentangling an historical situation. Whenever thus applied, the method has invariably led to purely artificial and fantastic constructions, and must be designated as emphatically unhistorical. In this respect Dr. Rivers's theoretical position must be classed with that of Graebner, the leading representative of the so-called "historical" school in ethnology. Here, however, the analogy ends, for one finds in Dr. Rivers's work none of that mechanical handling of cultural data which is so characteristic of Graebner; instead, systematic and often brilliant use is made of psychological analysis and interpretation extended to all phases of culture. In this as well as in the thought-stirring character of Dr. Rivers's argument will lie the permanent value of his latest contribution to ethnology.

A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

A History of Persia. By Lieut.-Col. P. M. SYKES. In two volumes. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1915. Pp. xxvi, 544; xxii, 565. With maps and illustrations.)

COLONEL SYKES, whose earlier work on Persian subjects is well known and deservedly valued (his *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* is one of the best books we have had in English for many years on the Middle East), has long designed and worked towards such a Persian history as he has now given us. His only serious rival, in his own language, Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia from its most Early Period to the Present Time*, was published in 1815, and since that time much has been done. As Colonel Sykes reminds us, in the last century the cuneiform and other inscriptions, now solved, deciphered, and studied, have revealed a new side of historic truth; and hardly less valuable have been the excavations of ancient sites and monuments, apart from their written legacy to the world. "Susā has yielded up its secrets"—like Nineveh and many another. The remains of Old Persian palaces and tombs and altars and cities, the Behistun inscription, the cylinder of Cyrus, are things which alter our whole outlook upon Eastern history. Yet though "each important discovery has been embodied in some work of special value, no English book has dealt with the Persian subject as a whole, embodying the fruits of modern research, upon the national history, from first to last". Colonel Sykes, "after much hesitation", has fortunately attempted to fill this gap. He has a marked advantage in his close personal knowledge of so much of the ground; for twenty of the best years of his life he has lived in Persia; as a diplomatist, a soldier,

a traveller, and an investigator he has seen the Middle East from various sides, discovered many truths, and penetrated many illusions. The geographical and topographical chapters and references are particularly helpful, such as those that introduce the work—Configuration and Climate, Deserts, Rivers, Fauna, Flora, Minerals, the geography of Elam (chs. I.–III.)—or that chapter VIII. in which the contrast is drawn between the plains and the uplands of Persia, and the influence of the Aryan race on the Iranian plateau is studied. The parallel between Spain and Persia, even if pressed a little too far ethnologically, is suggestive and valuable. In both lands “the traveller from the North” soon “rises on to a plateau”, which is broken by jagged ranges, the *Sierras* or Saws of Spain, “and where the country is generally bare and treeless”. “Traversing this great plateau”, which occupies all the heart of the country, one then crosses the *hot lands* of the South, *Andalus* in Spain, *Garmsir* in Persia, before reaching the Southern Sea. “To the north, as if to complete the analogy”, the Biscayan provinces “differ as much from the Spain of the plateau as the Caspian provinces from the rest of Persia”. Moreover, although Persians are termed “the French of the East”, Colonel Sykes would rather compare them with Spaniards, “whose manner of life is akin to the Persian”, whose country has such similar physical conditions, and who can claim some actual blood-connection with the men of Iran—“for Spaniards are in [some small] part descended from Persians who accompanied the Arab conquerors”. These founded a Shiraz [Xeres] in Spain, and there made the wine, which as sherry still preserves the Persian name”. Even to-day “the best Shiraz wine resembles a nutty Sherry”.

Our author’s account of the historic sites of Persia and their remains is also excellent. Susa, Persepolis, Pasargadae, Ecbatana, and the rest, are well described, and in some cases vividly illustrated: it is perhaps regrettable that Colonel Sykes has not given us the full text of the Behistun inscription of “the son of Vishtasp, the Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan descent”.

Specially valuable are the sketches of Persian customs, language, letters, and art (including architecture) in various times (see chapter XV. for the Achaemenian ages, chapter XLI. for the Sasanid, chapter LIV. for the early Islamic, chapter LXI. for the Mongol, chapter LXV. for the Safavi).

Everywhere history and geography are elucidated by the intimate first-hand acquaintance of an untiring and acute traveller with the field of study. In this history the time of early Persian eminence—from the rise of Cyrus the founder, the “servant of Jehovah”, to the death of Darius Hystaspes the organizer and administrator—is thoroughly appreciated and attractively presented, with fullness, critical care, and interest: no less excellent is the treatment of the Sasanid period, perhaps the most virile and attractive time of Persia.

Under Mohammedan rule the writer well brings out the depression of Persia for a century after the Islamic conquest and the partial revival under the Abbasids, symbolized and illustrated by the transference of the capital from Syrian Damascus to Baghdad on the Tigris: chapter XLIX., Persian Ascendancy in the Early Abbasid Period, and chapter L., the Golden Age of Islam, are particularly to the point here. Islamic culture in the East, so largely a product of Persian genius, suffered irreparable injury from the rise of Turkish influence and the Mongol invasions: from the eleventh century A. D. we accordingly find Mohammedan civilization, in spite of its remarkable past and apparent future, steadily on the decline. The thirteenth century was fatal to it: Chingiz Khan and his followers Timur and the Ottomans ruined the gorgeous East, from the Pamir to the Balkans, from Siberia to the Gulf of Persia. "Behold your house is left unto you desolate."

It is an impoverished, shattered, broken, dispeopled, barbarized Orient which sees the troubled history of modern Persia—the rise of a new independent Shiite state in the sixteenth century, the career of Nadir Shah, the disastrous struggles with Russia, the first partition of Persia by Slav and Briton, and the constitutional movement. No part of Colonel Sykes's undertaking is more to be welcomed than those last chapters, from the opening of the Safavi time: for nowhere in Persian history is there more general ignorance, even among historical workers.

The illustrations deserve special notice. They are abundant, apposite, always clear, usually most effective, often beautiful. Besides smaller reproductions of coins, seals, gems, medallions, cylinders, vases, and inscriptions, there are over 160 full-page pictures in the text, some in color, and 7 maps. The latter are not of equal merit or attractiveness, but both the pictorial, geographical, and archaeological illustrations it is difficult to praise too highly.

One may regret that so much space has been given to matters somewhat apart from the "road to Susa" on which the Persian historian must travel: early Oriental affairs, before the fall of Nineveh, likewise Graeco-Macedonian, Roman, and Arabian events, are treated "somewhat more fully than necessary"—the author anticipates such a criticism in his preface and rebuts it with a statement of the need for a "self-contained complete work" on his subject, focussing all "known of the ancient empires in their relations with Persia".

But this book is always delightful, even when it strays from Persia; Colonel Sykes has put some of his most suggestive work and some of his best illustrations into the very chapters which digress most widely to Assyria and Babylon, to Hellas, to Rome, or to Arabia; and every reader must wish a wide circulation and a cordial reception for such an admirable piece of work.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

English Court Hand, A. D. 1066 to 1500, illustrated chiefly from the Public Records. By CHARLES JOHNSON, M.A., and HILARY JENKINSON, B.A., F.S.A. Part I., Text; Part II., Plates. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. xlviii, 250; xlv plates.)

ONE of the most serious gaps in the equipment of instruction in palaeography and diplomatics has been the absence of any working collection of facsimiles of English documents. It is true that valuable matter of this sort is found in the publications of the Ordnance Survey and the British Museum and here and there throughout the series issued by the two palaeographical societies; but none of these collections is systematic or complete for this purpose, and all are lacking in convenience, cheapness, and the comment and analysis necessary for the student. This deficiency has now been well supplied by two thoroughly competent scholars of the Public Record Office. A volume of forty-four plates reproduces eighty-one different documents, extending from a charter of the Conqueror to an account of 1501 and chosen so as to illustrate at the same time the development of writing and the principal types and series of English records. The accompanying volume of text gives in most instances a transcription and in every case careful comment upon the peculiarities of the original. The remainder of the text, something like a hundred and ten pages, is devoted to an introductory account of court hand as distinguished from book hand, a brief treatment of abbreviations, and a detailed discussion, with the aid of abundant engravings, of the history of each letter and sign throughout the period and the kind of writing covered by the book. "No effort has been made to select documents of special historical or artistic significance: we have rather attempted", the authors say, "to give specimens of the average humdrum material of historical research and to show the beginner how to deal with ordinary problems which the utilization of such material presents." The attempt has certainly been successful and will create a real obligation on the part of the historical profession.

The purpose is strictly practical, and the treatment is frankly empirical. The material has been chosen almost entirely from the Record Office and evidently with an eye to the great administrative divisions of the central government. The student is not brought in contact with the types of local record, such as manorial documents or ecclesiastical registers, and no reference is made to documents of foreign (*e. g.*, papal) origin which occur in English repositories; nor is he told how to follow up such matters in the bibliography, which contains no books on local records or on diplomatics and even omits Giry, in spite of its convenience for chronological reference. It will thus be seen that the collection is at once more restricted and more systematic than such Continental parallels as the facsimiles of the *École des Chartes*. For the

most part the comment is strictly palaeographical; the chief exception is a certain number of glosses on technical terms or uncommon usages, notes inserted on no apparent principle and clearly out of place in a palaeographical treatise. In regard to furnishing transcriptions and references the practice is inconsistent. Thus plate XVIIb is not transcribed, while XVIIIa is printed without mention of Maitland's use of the roll in his *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts*. It would seem that in a work designed for students transcriptions should have been provided even in the case of texts printed elsewhere, for many of the works cited are, like the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I., not always easily accessible. It would have been of some advantage to students to indicate by italics or brackets the resolution of abbreviations; it is hardly a good example to them to print the periods before and after an initial for which the full name has been substituted in the text. In plate IIa the gap in the last line should have been noted and an effort made to decipher the whole of the proper name at the end of the preceding line, where the reader's attention might also have been called to the practice of writing above the line in such cases. In general however the work of transcription seems accurate and the comment judicious.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, 1334. Edited by PAUL VINOGRADOFF, F.B.A., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Oxford, and FRANK MORGAN, M.A., Tutor of Keble College, Oxford. [Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, vol. I.] (London: The British Academy. 1914. Pp. cxxiv, 347.)

THIS is the first volume issued by the British Academy, which proposes to undertake the systematic publication of a series of records dealing with the social and economic history of England. Denbigh was a Welsh honor but the Survey has a wider interest than that of purely local history, for in depicting the struggle between Welsh and English customs, it describes "Celtic institutions which lie at the foundation of the history of Great Britain". Wales was conquered in 1282 and the Survey of Denbigh was made in 1334 and is therefore near enough in point of time to give a "picture of the condition of affairs before the conquest, of the effects of that political change, together with glimpses of the transition from a pastoral to an agricultural condition, from a tribal to a tenurial basis". The unique value of the document is due to three things: it is very detailed and generally exact in its information; it was made before the Black Death and so the effects of that catastrophe do not obscure the picture of the pre-conquest Welsh organization; the honor is so mountainous that agriculture was very slowly introduced and as a result the original tribal and pastoral organization persisted here longer than in other parts of the principality.¹ It was

¹ Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 29.

Seebohm who first appreciated the worth of the document. He used it in preparing the *Tribal System in Wales* and printed extracts from it in record type in that work.

The present first complete edition has been prepared by Professor Vinogradoff with the assistance of an unusually able seminar, most of whose members have already been engaged in scholarly work. It follows Seebohm's manuscript, but three other manuscripts have been used for collation, though only one of them was of much value. The text is apparently a faithful reproduction of the original, for a comparison of parts of it with some of the extracts printed by Seebohm shows them to be in absolute accord. The document abounds in figures. The editors have contented themselves with printing the variant numbers given in the different manuscripts and in this way errors have passed unnoticed. Thus the total amount of escheated land in Eryvyot is given as 1483½ acres, 9½ perches, but it is impossible to get this sum from the separate items (p. 109); the sum of the lands escheated in Prestlegot should be 237 instead of 227 acres (p. 171); the escheat of Wickwire and its hamlets should be 2573 instead of 1573 acres (p. 216); in Mairdreue the lands in escheat add up to 39½ acres instead of 38½ acres (p. 232); on page 290, l. 20, "tenent partes" should read "tenent septem partes".

The text of the Survey is accompanied by an excellent introduction based upon the Survey itself, on the Welsh codes, other Welsh surveys, ministers' accounts, and similar material. It adds to our information in many points. After an historical sketch of the honor follow sections on Kindreds and Villages, Wood, Waste and Pasture, Agriculture, Rents and Services, Officers and Agents, the Unfree Population, English Tenu-rial Arrangements, and the Urban Population. Some points of interest brought out in the discussion are the slight development of manorial organization in the honor, the almost universal conversion of services into money payments, the striking contrast of the English organization based on villeins with the Welsh, in which the *nativi* who correspond to the English villeins formed only a minority of the rural population. Moreover, while in England the lords, freemen, and villeins were bound together in a hierarchy, the Welsh, both free and unfree, were united by the tie of kindred. The kindreds owned land in common scattered through different villages. Of special interest is the view that this tribal ownership of land was developing naturally into the village community. The process was accelerated by the conquest with its attendant confiscations but that political event did not originate the change.

A few slips have been noticed. The extent of the arable at Dynorbyn Vaur in the third season was 69 instead of 60 acres; at Kilforn the figures for the arable should be 67, 59, and 101 acres. In Ughalet a case of military service is given in addition to the one cited. It is worth mention, for it is the only reference in the Survey to service for forty days (p. 205). The vill of Prees is wrongly given as 7700 acres (p. 96, note t). There is occasional lack of uniformity in the use of names:

Segroyt and Segroit (pp. xxxvii and xlix); Astret and Ystrad (pp. xlviii and 44, note). An irritating feature of the introduction is that the references are to the folios of the manuscript instead of to the pages in the text. The book contains a map of the honor and two elaborate tables of Welsh kindreds.

S. K. MITCHELL.

Belgian Democracy: its Early History. By HENRI PIRENNE, Professor of Medieval and Belgian History, University of Ghent. Translated by J. V. SAUNDERS, M.A., Second Master at Hymer's College, Hull. (Manchester: University Press. 1915. Pp. xi, 250.)

THE Belgian historian introduces the English version of his volume, published originally in Belgium, 1910, with a fervent expression of his conviction that the vitality shown by Belgian towns at all stages of their past history is a certain proof that they will rebound anew from their present disasters. And surely the world will watch anxiously to see that prophecy come true and, while they are waiting, nothing should be more timely than a consideration of the past experiences of those same towns, often as hard as the conditions under which they are existing to-day.

As often happens with a small volume, so much matter is compressed into the 243 pages of text that it is hard reading, although containing much that is suggestive and illuminating. M. Pirenne has already set forth his reasons elsewhere for believing that colonies of merchants and artisans, clustering just outside the walls of an abbey or a castle, formed the nucleus of the Netherland towns instead of the towns having originated in mark communities as maintained by Vanderkindere. M. Pirenne's expositions of this opinion in his *Histoire de Belgique* and certain periodical articles are more interesting than in this new volume, because fuller and less condensed in statement. Here he reiterates the main points of argument and shows how the trading stations, the *emporia*, more often termed *portus*, nestled naturally under the protection of fortresses, monasteries, or militant episcopal sees, lying conveniently on the highway of commerce. In these up-springing towns two elements existed side by side, the military *castrum* or episcopal *cit  *, and the circle of *poorters*—colonizing free-traders in search of customers. *Poorter* is used in Netherland documents as synonymous with *burger*. It is curious, as M. Pirenne remarks, that the latter term, sprung from the loins of a stronghold, has been the parent of a word familiar in all European tongues as emblematic of the least militant of characteristics. Nothing could be more suggestive of antimilitaristic qualities than *bourgeois*! But the chief point brought out is that these *poorters* or trading colonists were freemen at the time of their settlement, no matter what their previous history had been, and ready to make their own regulations for the management of their little community and that they did so. Certain

characteristics of medieval towns are, of course, by no means peculiar to the Netherlands. There were certain groups which developed on similar lines, and towns far apart and not akin were sometimes curiously alike. Lille and Arras, whose population is Latin, are the sisters of Ghent and Bruges, with their Germanic citizens, and conversely there is more affinity between Liège and Utrecht than between Utrecht and Amsterdam. The degree of actual democracy possessed by these communities is the main matter of interest and here is where one might take issue with the writer. He likens the commune to a hive or an ant-hill and differentiates it from either by the fact that the insect communities are managed on monarchical, the human on democratic, principles. Yet as M. Pirenne traces the development of Liège and Bruges—taken as types—it seems to be very clear that democracy, as understood to-day, existed in theory rather than practice, at least after the very earliest stages of the bodies corporate, if ever existent. They were very jealous organizations, those towns, and the non-burghers had about as many rights as the Uitlanders in South Africa before the Boer War. That is, power was vested not in the Demos but in the privileged, and those were privileged who had qualified in some other unit—a guild. And as it was in the town so it was in the constituent units of the town, the guilds. And when immunity was won it was jealously guarded. The French Revolution had to do levelling in other realms than those of aristocracy. But to see M. Pirenne at better range on this subject, turn to his article on “Les Villes Flamandes” (*Annales de l’Est et du Nord*, 1901) and for the further development of the topic to various chapters of his *Histoire de Belgique*, *passim*.

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Enlarged from Original MSS. with Notes from Unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps, and Illustrations. Edited by NEHEMIAH CURNOCK, assisted by Experts. In eight volumes. Standard Edition. (London: Robert Culley; New York and Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern. 1910–1915.)

JOHN WESLEY’S *Journal* has long since taken its place as a classic in English literature, and is recognized by students of the eighteenth century as one of the important sources for the history of that period. In spite of these facts there has never been prepared a complete and accurate edition, and for some years past there has been considerable agitation, both in England and America, urging the publication of a new and complete edition of the *Journal of John Wesley*. For seven years students of Wesley and his century have been engaged in collecting material for this edition, and so great has been the amount of new material unearthed, since the edition was planned, that the publishers have

been compelled to enlarge their original plan of publication, and instead of issuing the *Journal* in six volumes, as first announced, they have now added a seventh and an eighth volume.

The editors have displayed a most scholarly and painstaking care in performing their exacting task. The foot-notes are filled with much detailed information, and display a thorough knowledge of Wesleyana. Careful proof-reading is shown by an almost complete absence of mistakes, and the mechanical work has been admirably executed. Each volume contains numerous illustrations which are both artistic and informing.

The most interesting volume of the *Journal*, to the readers of the *American Historical Review*, is volume VI., which has but recently come from the press. This volume covers the period of the American Revolution, from September 13, 1773, to July 17, 1784. During these years Wesley printed several interesting political pamphlets bearing on the American war, the most important being his *Calm Address to the American Colonies*, which appeared in 1775, and in which he urges the Americans to submit (pp. 82-85). This address, we are told in the foot-notes, produced an unparalleled sensation and in three weeks forty thousand copies were sold, and as a result, a "hurricane of abuse broke upon Wesley's head". Wesley wrote, at the same time, a letter to Lords North and Dartmouth in which he urged the necessity of moderate dealings with the Americans. In this letter he asserts that from what he knew of the Americans, if war was actually begun, the American colonies would certainly gain their independence. This letter we are told by the editor is to be printed in full in the appendix of volume VIII. In November, 1775, Wesley replies to an inquiry as to his motive in publishing the *Calm Address*, by a letter, printed in Lloyd's *Evening Post*, in which he says, "I have been seriously asked, 'From what motive did you publish your *Calm Address to the American Colonies*'? I seriously answer, Not to get money. Had that been my motive I should have swelled it into a shilling pamphlet, and entered it at Stationer's Hall." Nor, he continues, did he publish it to please any man living, high or low, but his real motive was to contribute his mite toward allaying the excitement and opposition to the government. Many in England, he states, are pouring oil on the flame by crying out, "How unjustly, how cruelly, the King is using the poor Americans, who are only contending for their liberty and for their legal privileges!" He wrote the pamphlet, he says, to show that the Americans were neither cruelly nor unjustly used, but that they were contending for illegal privileges, the right to be exempted from Parliamentary taxation. (For a list of Wesley documents relating to the American war, see pp. 66, 67, note.)

Wesley was a firm supporter of George III. and an admirer of Lord North, the prime minister, and Lord Dartmouth, the secretary of state for the colonies to 1775 and later lord privy seal. On February 2, 1778, the *Journal* states, "I had the satisfaction of spending an hour with that

real patriot, Lord ————". It is very probable, so the editor thinks, that the reference here is to Lord Dartmouth. Lord Dartmouth was one of the leaders of the Evangelical revival movement within the Church of England and this accounts largely for Wesley's regard for him (pp. 179-180). He probably was the chief medium of communication between Wesley and the prime minister and possibly with the king himself. For King George had shown kindness toward the Methodists (p. 10, note), and the cleanness of his private life and of the court, contrasting so greatly with that of the two previous reigns, would naturally make a strong appeal to Wesley.

We find Wesley, during these years, frequently preaching from the text, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's", especially in those districts where there was much dissatisfaction with the government, which was particularly the condition in the west of England, about Bristol (pp. 78, 91, 181), in Wales, and in Ireland. In his itinerary through Wales in 1779 he finds the people in consternation, due to a report that the French were planning an invasion of Wales, and to allay the excitement he preaches at Carmarthen from the text, "Say ye unto the righteous, it shall be well with thee". In February, 1777, Wesley wrote another pamphlet addressed to the inhabitants of England, in which he argues that the American war is largely the result of disloyalty in England. And the day before the yearly conference meets, in August, 1777, he desires as many as possible to join together in fasting and prayer, "that God would restore the spirit of love and of a sound mind to the poor deluded rebels in America" (p. 167). On April 14, 1777, he preaches at Liverpool, "where many large ships are now laid up in the docks, which had been employed for many years in buying or stealing poor Africans, and selling them in America for slaves. . . . Since the American war broke out, there is no demand for human cattle" (p. 143).

This and much more does the *Journal* contain, and with the completion of the next two volumes, the last of which will contain reprints of these interesting documents referred to above, and with the new edition of the Wesley letters, which the editor promises, the student will be in possession of all the material for a complete study of the relation of John Wesley to the American Revolution.

WILLIAM W. SWEET.

The Life of Barnave. By E. D. BRADBY. In two volumes. (London and Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. 389; 410.)

BARNAVE, though one of the most important figures in the early history of the French Revolution, has been neglected by English and American students. Until the appearance of Mr. Bradby's book no biographical study of his life, of any consequence, has existed in English. The explanation is perhaps to be found in Barnave's own words. "Liberty",

he declared, "is won by enthusiasm, but on the other hand, it is kept by resisting enthusiasm". His fight for liberty was not as dramatic as that of some of his contemporaries and moreover he was chiefly concerned in the latter part of the programme—resisting enthusiasm—a part never popular. His opposition to the extension of equality to all classes in the colonies, and to the establishment of a republic, naturally aroused enmity against him both from the extremists and the republicans, while for his advocacy of liberty he was attacked by the royalists. The significant though undramatic part which he played in the constructive work of the Constituent Assembly is, however, more than sufficient to warrant an extended study of his life.

Mr. Bradby finds a special reason for such a study in the curiosity provoked by the apparent contradictions of Barnave's personality.

His kindness to the royal family when he and Pétion escorted them back to Paris cannot fail to leave an impression that he had a heart large enough to be touched by misfortune, that he was a true gentleman who knew how to behave in trying circumstances. This impression persists and colors all the unfavorable ones which we subsequently form.

There is ground for such unfavorable impression in the opinion expressed by his adversaries. He was in their view "excessively vain, inordinately ambitious, uneasily jealous of Mirabeau, acid and spiteful", an inveterate duellist, a cold rhetorician and finally a turncoat, when after the flight to Varennes, "won over" by the smiles of the queen, he devoted himself to trying to prop up the monarchy and to save the royal family.

Allured by these contradictions, Mr. Bradby proceeds to examine the evidence. His conclusion is decidedly favorable to Barnave. He presents him as a young man of lofty ideals and at the same time of sound practical sense, an opponent of privilege and oppression, a clear and logical debater well able to refute Mirabeau, generous to his enemies and loving and loved by a large circle of friends, and finally an advocate of constitutional monarchy, not because of chivalrous and sentimental devotion to a woman, but because of firm belief in a cause.

A notable part of the book is Mr. Bradby's examination of Barnave's alleged relations to the court, especially to the queen, as a political adviser. While his argument is not convincing beyond all reasonable doubt, he proves that much of the testimony, particularly that of Madame Campan, is untrustworthy, and that at least there was nothing politically discreditable in his dealings with the queen. While opinions may differ as to Barnave's life, there can be no difference of opinion as to the nobility of his conduct as he faced death. He refused to avail himself of the prison door left suggestively open, "because he held it better to die under a cloud than to live as a witness against France and the Revolution in the eyes of Europe hostile to both".

The book is of value not only as a picture of Barnave but as a vivid

account of the Constituent Assembly. The background is as interesting as the main figure; there is so much of it, however, that at times Barnave himself is almost lost from sight. The work might perhaps be more properly called "The Life and Times of Barnave".

ELOISE ELLERY.

A Historical Geography of the British Dominions. By Sir CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Volume IV. *South Africa*, part II., *History to the Union of South Africa*. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. viii, 533.)

THE first volume on South Africa in this series included the descriptive geography and the history of this region to about 1895. The author in this second volume, which is exclusively historical, surveys in much greater detail the fifteen years ending in 1910. In the appendixes are several familiar and important documents; several excellent large maps are given, though the sketch maps in the text are disappointing; and the bibliography is confessedly brief and elementary. But the references, particularly to official documents, are frequent and precise and the index excellent.

The author has chosen to take the period of the war, and particularly the military operations, as his central theme. Of the 487 pages of text, 300 pages are devoted to the years 1899-1902. The result is that we do not find even in the three long chapters on this subject a satisfactory balance as to the operations in the field and the equally difficult matter of the political history of the conflict. Nearly every stage of the war is treated with a mass of detail which would be justified only if Sir Charles Lucas were primarily a trained writer of military history, and if on his frequent maps he had supplied occasional contour lines or marked the position of troops. As it is the result is most confusing. The book is equally unsatisfactory both to the reader who is concerned chiefly with the larger strategy of war and to the closer military student. On the other hand, the candor of the author's criticisms and his readiness to quote from hostile or foreign commentators make these chapters a temperate and at times almost naïve declaration of British military bravery, incompetence, and persistence.

Of the remaining pages, the best are those devoted to the period immediately before the war, though the last chapter is an admirable, brief summary of the two volumes. It is therefore a matter of regret that the union of South Africa—the climax and crown of a tumultuous century—should receive less than a dozen rather perfunctory pages. Furthermore, though the central problem in South African history—the contact of white and colored peoples, involving also the labor question—is frequently mentioned, the reader will look in vain for adequate appreciation and treatment of this thorny subject. In brief, in these respects this volume is not up to the standard set by its predecessors in this series.

But it has certain excellent qualities and contains many passages which are stimulating to the specialist in colonial affairs and which deserve careful reading by any student of recent history. For example, there is the keen analysis of the conflict between a seventeenth-century civilization on an alien soil with modern industrial capitalism at work in a new country. It is open to doubt whether the author, who has tried to be conspicuously non-partizan, is quite fair in his condemnation of Boer traditions and characteristics as shown in the Transvaal. But he makes a suggestive distinction between the South African Republic and the Orange Free State. The former was always a frontier state. It drew the more restless and reckless Dutch; and these because of their situation and their history had to face two of the most difficult of administrative problems. On their borders, indeed all about them, was a vast native population, and later, surging in upon them from the ends of the world, came the miners and foreign corporations. On the other hand the position of the Orange Free State had been in the main long fixed and its political and economic atmosphere was much more calm. Other equally important matters appear in many parts of the book and commend anew the whole field of South African history to the attention of men with varied historical interests.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Riverside History of the United States. WILLIAM E. DODD, Editor. I. *Beginnings of the American People.* By CARL LOTUS BECKER. II. *Union and Democracy.* By ALLEN JOHNSON. III. *Expansion and Conflict.* By WILLIAM E. DODD. IV. *The New Nation.* By FREDERIC L. PAXSON. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. 279, xviii; 346, xvii; 329, xxiv; 342, xiv.)

TECHNICALLY, the four volumes of this attractive and handy series are of about equal size, but the number of pages of text varies from about 275 in volume I. to 346 in volume II. Each of the last three volumes, again, is divided into from sixteen to twenty chapters, while Professor Becker groups in six long chapters the material of volume I. To each chapter, throughout the series, is appended a brief bibliography of primary and secondary material, forming as a whole a discriminating selection of authorities best worth while. Professor Becker adds a brief general bibliography of the period, but this useful feature is omitted in the other volumes. Each volume is separately indexed, but there is no consolidated index to the series. There are numerous maps in black and white, most of them, apparently, drawn for this work, and embodying a good deal of well-directed labor. The maps are so small, however, and the mechanical execution as a whole so inferior, that it is not easy to use them without a glass.

The number of pages or chapters which an author or editor allots to particular topics or periods is not, in and of itself, a very satisfactory test of an historical work; but it is one test, and the application of it in this instance yields some interesting comparisons. Professor Becker, for example, whose 275 pages take us to the close of the Revolution, gives 124 pages to the periods of discovery, exploration, and the planting of the permanent English settlements; 41 pages to an account of social, economic, political, and religious conditions in America in the eighteenth century; and 73 pages to the Revolution, two-thirds of that number dealing with the decade and a half before the outbreak of hostilities. As factors in colonial history, in other words, the Revolution as a whole counts for about one-fourth and the Revolutionary War itself for about one-twelfth. Professor Johnson, who in 346 pages carries on the story to 1829, gives to the work of the Federal Convention about the same amount of space that he gives to the "critical period", spends 122 pages in getting from 1789 to 1801 and 74 pages in describing the Jeffersonian régime, disposes of the War of 1812 in eighteen pages and of its results in fourteen, and allots 100 pages to the last fifteen years of his period: on the whole a well-balanced division. Professor Dodd, with 329 pages for the period from 1829 to 1865, allows 14 pages for the Mexican War, and 59 pages, or a trifle less than one-sixth of the volume, to the Civil War; while Professor Paxson assigns to the War with Spain only a little less space than Professor Johnson gives to the War of 1812. Whatever the advocates of peace may think of this series in other respects, they certainly cannot complain that military events have been over-emphasized; while secondary school-teachers who have been asking for a subordination of the colonial period and a fuller treatment of the period since the Civil War may be interested to observe that each of these periods receives one volume out of the four.

While the volumes fit together well, and unnecessary overlapping is conspicuous by its absence, the several volumes have somewhat striking individuality in both style and treatment. Professor Becker, whose literary form has rare charm, is at special pains to exhibit the European background, not only of the age of discovery, but of the entire colonial period as well; and no American writer working in such confined quarters has, I think, achieved this particular task so well. Whether, on the other hand, he has not given us a brilliant piece of interpretation rather than a sufficiently solid narrative, is another question. Such passages, for example, as the discussion of the middle-class aspects of the Protestant Reformation (p. 81 *et seq.*), and the later dissection of the spirit of Puritanism (p. 114 *et seq.*), are both broad and penetrating, as is the presentation of the larger causes of the Revolution; but for such courses in American colonial history as are commonly taught in colleges the volume could hardly serve as a sufficient text-book, notwithstanding the fact that every student in such courses would do well to read the book.

After all is said and done, however, a writer who attempts a summary account of the colonial period is entitled to a great deal of latitude, for the period has little inherent unity until the Revolution is reached. After 1783 the material is more tractable, and Professor Johnson's narrative is at once orderly, systematic, and balanced. To say that there is less novelty here than in the other volumes of the series is only to recognize that the early constitutional period, rather more than any other, fixes its own outlines, and that a writer is largely restrained to the selection of that which is most important and typical. Professor Johnson has certainly done this with skill. A good example of condensed wisdom appears in his brief comment upon the significance of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (p. 111), where he points out that protest, rather than action, was chiefly in mind, and that emphasis upon nullification, interposition, or the compact theory as the main contention is misplaced. On the other hand, while the bibliographical note to chapter IV. points out that the attitude of scholars towards some of the topics dealt with in the chapter—the Genet episode, the Jay treaty, etc.—has been changed by the publication of certain of Professor Turner's studies, the brevity of the text has apparently precluded any marked change in the accustomed presentation.

Professor Dodd, the editor of the series, is at his best in interpreting the economic and state influences which affected national development after 1829 in both the South and the West; and although he minimizes unduly the effect of the abolition movement and the Fugitive Slave Law, he somewhat offsets this by a fresh presentation of the economic background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the special interest of the Northwest in that legislative programme. There is also an interesting chapter of apology for Van Buren. Professor Paxson, who treats of the period subsequent to the Civil War, has the most difficult task of all. I do not see how such a thesis as he propounds in his preface, namely, that the new nation which has appeared since the Civil War "has been only accidentally connected with that catastrophe", can be maintained, and his well-written pages are in fact a refutation of it; still, a book is not necessarily built around its preface. The narrative of events is brought down to 1914.

Viewed as a whole, the series has certain marked characteristics. In its treatment of the colonial period its standpoint, as has been said, is England rather than the colonies; and while no attempt is made to create the impression of a colonial system more perfect than actually existed, it is imperial rather than provincial significance that is emphasized. In its treatment of the Revolution, social and constitutional influences predominate over military happenings. In the period subsequent to 1789, on the other hand, constitutional questions are greatly subordinated and economic considerations are brought to the fore, while an unusual amount of space is given to state politics. More, too, than in any other comprehensive history of equal bulk, the history of the nation

is interpreted in terms of the West and the South, rather than in those of New England and the Atlantic seaboard. The course of international relations and the development of American foreign policy are, in general, only briefly discussed. The volumes by Professor Becker and Professor Dodd strike out new lines, and may fairly be regarded as substantive contributions. The series as a whole is a distinct enrichment of the resources of the college teacher, and ought to find a useful place in school and public libraries.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council. By ELMER BEECHER RUSSELL, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LXIV., no. 2.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1915. Pp. 227.)

DR. RUSSELL's intensive monograph and Professor Andrews's brief article on "The Royal Disallowance" (reprint, American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, October, 1914) are noteworthy additions to the literature of colonial history. Their value lies not alone in bringing to light an unfamiliar subject, but chiefly in revealing the significance and importance of a power and a point of view once commonly neglected. Over four hundred and fifty colonial enactments of nine continental colonies were disallowed by the exercise of the royal prerogative. It is remarkable that this vigorous check upon colonial self-direction, counted a serious matter by the colonists themselves, has been viewed by past writers as a subject to be ignored. Professor Andrews discusses the subject in general, while Dr. Russell's study is more ambitious, analyzing the matter in a wealth of detail, well organized and well documented. Both writers from deliberate choice approach the subject from only one angle, that of the British authorities. The disallowing power was fully justified in point of law and necessity and it was used consistently to maintain the law and custom of the British constitution and the interests and welfare of the British empire. The home authorities in general did not act in an arbitrary manner in reviewing colonial laws, frequently showing an attitude of forbearance, and in many instances the check was wholesome for the colonies, saving them from the difficulties of ill-advised and harmful legislation.

The efficiency of the royal check was often weakened by the difficulties of distance and communication and by the delay, indifference, and ignorance of officials. Its influence and effectiveness are questions which cannot be determined by simply assuming the central-office point of view. The whole history of the colonies is replete with evasions and disobedience of British control and it would be folly to draw any conclusions as to the success of the royal disallowance until the matter has

also been fully studied and analyzed from the colonial viewpoint and sources. This task still waits to be done. Both writers realize this fact, but Dr. Russell is not careful to avoid the temptations of generalizing upon its effectiveness. His statement that the government "did achieve the main objects of its desire" cannot be supported by a partial investigation (p. 204).

There are certain errors in Dr. Russell's work which should be corrected. Tousley for Tousey (p. 106), 1703 for 1704 (p. 137), V 16 for V 19 (p. 103, note 2), and *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, for *Am. Hist. Assn., Reports* (pp. 105, note 1, 106, note 1) are accidental in a detailed study commendably free from misstatements of pure data. The one event of reports to the House of Lords in 1702, 1703, 1704, hardly warrants the statement that "For several years it [the Board of Trade] rendered annual reports to the house of Commons" (p. 58). The dates cited when Connecticut transmitted her laws to England (p. 103, note 1) are completely at variance with those given accurately by Professor Andrews in his recent paper on "Connecticut and the British Government" (reprint, *Acorn Club Publication*, 1915). This is evidence of rather hasty research. Dr. Russell refers to only one of Fane's nine reports on the Connecticut laws, which, though not acted upon, Professor Andrews shows are worthy of attention as reflecting the English attitude toward colonial laws. Rhode Island sent to England not a collection of her laws in 1699 (p. 103, note 1), but only an "Imperfect Abstract thereof".

There are also serious faults in the usage and definition of terms, some of which occur in sufficient regularity to point to carelessness. It is curious to find "King's Counsel" used over and again as if it applied only to the "standing counsel of the Board of Trade". In fact Francis Fane, who occupied this position for at least a score of years, was not a K. C. Frequently "solicitor and attorney" or "solicitor and attorney-general" are repeatedly and incorrectly employed for "solicitor-general and attorney-general". There was an "auditor-general of plantation revenues" but no "auditor-general of the plantations" (p. 72).

In the interest of exact definition of terms in a new field of historical investigation, it is well at the outset to make several corrections. The disallowance was an exercise of executive power rather than an act of legislation as implied in the phrase "legislative review". A "report" and a "representation" of the Board of Trade were not considered interchangeable (p. 52 and note 2), nor did the distinction rest upon the question of formality or of the recipient. The former was a reply of the Board of Trade to a request from the Privy Council, its committees, or either House of Parliament, and the latter was a statement initiated by the Board itself. It is interesting to find a student of Professor Osgood following the antiquated and illogical classification of the colonies as "royal, charter, and proprietary" (p. 93).

These faults are not enumerated to convey the impression that Dr. Russell's work is mediocre. That would be unjust. It is welcomed as

a valuable contribution in its field, standing somewhat above the average doctor's dissertation, thorough, and well written.

W. T. Root.

Writings of John Quincy Adams. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. Volume V., 1814-1816. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xxvii, 556.)

WHEN John Quincy Adams left St. Petersburg to join the other peace commissioners at Gothenburg, he was in an unusually sanguine frame of mind. "The coalition of Europe against France has at length been crowned with complete success", he wrote to Abigail Adams. "I can not but indulge the hope that it opens a prospect of at least more tranquility and security to the civilized part of mankind than they have enjoyed the last half century." Peace in Europe, he thought, would leave the war between England and the United States without any object but an abstract principle. Neither would be disposed to continue the war on such a point. At the same time he anticipated no settlement of the real issue. Peace would remove any occasion for England to continue the practice of impressment, but no concession of principle was to be expected. "The only way of coming to terms of peace with England, therefore, at this time . . . is to leave the question just where it was, saying nothing about it, but I know such a peace would not satisfy the people of America, and I have no desire to be instrumental in concluding it." Events proved Adams a shrewd prophet, but Fate decreed that he should play a conspicuous part in concluding just such a treaty of peace.

On the way to Gothenburg, Adams learned to his chagrin that the scene of negotiations had been shifted to the city of Ghent. From this moment his optimism evaporated. When he arrived at Ghent in June he was of the opinion that nearly two good months had been wasted. Moreover, he was now convinced that the British ministry was not disposed to make peace. He anticipated a speedy return to his family in St. Petersburg. In this expectation he was grievously disappointed. The negotiations which finally began on August 8 dragged on through weary months until the close of the year.

It cannot be said that this volume discloses much new material on the negotiations at Ghent. The entries in the *Memoirs*, which are almost equivalent to a journal of the proceedings of the commissioners, are too closely knit to permit much new light to enter; and many of the sidelights which Adams's letters shed have been reflected in the pages of Mr. Henry Adams's *History*. Nevertheless it is a great satisfaction to have the intimate letters of Adams made accessible. His letters to Mrs. Adams during their long separation are full of entertaining comments on the daily life of the writer and his colleagues. After reading these letters one is disposed to question the common impression for which, perhaps, Mr. Henry Adams is responsible, that the five American com-

missioners were so often rent with dissension that their personal relations were embittered. A letter of December 16, 1814, to Mrs. Adams gives quite a different impression.

Adams was not blind to the defects of the peace of Ghent. It was, as he said, in its nature and character a truce rather than a peace; "Neither party gave up anything. All the points of collision between them which had subsisted before the war were left open. New ones opened by the war itself were left to close again after the peace. Nothing was urged, nothing was settled—nothing in substance but an indifferent suspension of hostilities was agreed to." Yet when all the peculiar circumstances surrounding the war were taken into account, Adams believed that the American plenipotentiaries would stand acquitted in the face of their country and of the world, and would deserve the credit of having faithfully done their duty.

It was the good fortune of Adams to be in Paris at the beginning of the Hundred Days. All readers of the *Memoirs* will recall his vivid descriptions of the scenes attending Napoleon's return from Elba. Further information was hardly to be expected; and with his usual good judgment, the editor has chosen to print only half a dozen letters written from Paris, preferring to give greater emphasis to the new diplomatic mission to England upon which Adams entered in May, 1816. Nearly one-half of this fifth volume is devoted to letters and despatches from London. Yet here again, the editor has passed lightly over the negotiations leading to the commercial treaty with Great Britain of which the *Memoirs* contain so full a record. Only a few letters dated in June and July are included in this volume. On the other hand, the letters of succeeding months supplement admirably the entries in the *Memoirs*. Diplomatic knots, both old and new, had to be untangled. Adams's despatches touch upon topics as diverse as compensation for slaves taken after the war, discriminating duties, armament on the Great Lakes, and the fisheries. Already the problem of the Spanish South American colonies had obtruded itself; and three of Adams's despatches, dated January 22, February 8, and March 30, are of especial interest as foreshadowing his subsequent policy as secretary of state.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

Lee's Dispatches: Unpublished Letters of General Robert E. Lee, C.S.A., to Jefferson Davis and the War Department of the Confederate States of America, 1862-1865. From the Private Collection of Wymberley Jones de Renne. Edited with an Introduction by DOUGLAS SOUTHWALL FREEMAN, (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915. Pp. lxiii, 400.)

AFTER every source of information had been ransacked and after every person who had anything to tell had published a book, it is quite

a matter of note and surprise to discover more than two hundred unpublished despatches from Lee to Davis, which had been lost for many years and the existence of which had been forgotten.

The peculiar interest of such a collection arises from the almost complete absence of anything in the way of criticism or comment by Lee upon the conduct of his campaigns and the causes of failure where full success was not attained. His plans were so mature and so brilliantly conceived that it is generally hard to understand any lack of success, and the greatest curiosity has always been felt to know his own judgment upon the course of events. Those who have lived long enough to write their memoirs have started many controversies, and those who did not live long have had many friends to defend them. Thus it has been said that Longstreet did not obey, that Jackson was slow, that A. P. Hill was reckless, that Stuart "went on a wild goose chase", that Ewell and Early missed the point in many things, and so on. About it all the evidence of Lee would be conclusive. His intimate correspondence with Davis, however, just as his official reports, and his letters to his family, maintain a complete silence so far as complaint or blame is concerned, and we may perhaps at least infer that nothing further will be discovered. We are finally forced to the conclusion that Lee really believed that he was served by true leaders and brave troops who did their level best every time. The discovery adds more lustre to the fame of Lee. He certainly had a contempt for the manufacturers of strategy whose wisdom is born after the event. He well knew the limitations of his army, made by himself and carried through more campaigns in shorter time than any other army in history, but which could not help lacking some of the smoothness of a perfect machine. Therefore he was tolerant and his range of vision was greater than we thought.

Notwithstanding this silence, which we cannot wholly regret, the despatches amply repay us by additional light thrown upon the campaigns themselves. In a number of cases the plans of Lee and his clear perception of events stand out more clearly than ever before. The campaign from the Rapidan to the James is particularly rich in material. It shows the regret with which Lee made his several retreats to the rear instead of fighting "step by step". It shows that the claim by Grant's biographers that Lee was out-generalled in the crossing of the James by Grant was not justified. Quite a remarkable estimate of the value of cavalry in the campaign for Richmond and Petersburg is given.

Considering that Davis and Lee had been schoolmates for three years at West Point and close friends for many years before they were placed in the official relation of President and subordinate, we should look for some absence of formality in the intimate correspondence of the two. But such was not the case. Lee follows scrupulously the formula of official courtesy. Davis is always "Mr. President" and "Excellency", and Lee is always his "obedient servant". Although the letters and despatches are often hurriedly written and sometimes show carelessness

in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, Lee maintains a guarded attitude in speaking of his subordinates, seldom making suggestions about matters outside of his immediate province as an army commander. All this again throws light upon the humility of Lee.

The book is admirably edited. A series of notes connect and explain the despatches in such a way that it is not at all necessary to refer to other works for a full understanding. It is true that the editor on several occasions goes beyond the evidence he presents when he speaks of "blunders and worse of subordinates", "culpable" lieutenants, "others' errors", etc.—all matters upon which Lee, the master, was silent. Of the same class are the expressions "blots upon the military fame of Grant", "infamous", "house-burning expedition", "atrocities"—words which have a strangely familiar sound to-day.

EBEN SWIFT.

The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist. By ANNIE HELOISE ABEL, Ph.D. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1915. Pp. 394.)

"THIS volume is the first of a series of three dealing with the slaveholding Indians as secessionists, as participants in the Civil War, and as victims under reconstruction." No one will question that "the series deals with a phase of American Civil War history which has heretofore been almost entirely neglected, or . . . either misunderstood or misinterpreted" or Miss Abel's unusual qualifications for the task. This opening volume, however, is much more correctly described by its subtitle, "An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy", for the author's purpose is to show the influences and the means by which the slaveholding Indian tribes were led to throw in their lot with the South. The extent of slaveholding among the Indians, its economic and social results, are quite apart from the story and considered only in very general terms; the Indian as "Secessionist" is the subject of the book.

A brief summary cannot do justice to the care and detail of the investigation. The salient points are the conditions and influences leading up to the treaties of alliance between the Confederacy and the five leading tribes, especially the neglect of the Federal government, and the influence of missionaries, of Indian officials of Southern sympathies, and of agents from Texas and Arkansas; and a careful and thoughtful analysis and discussion of these remarkable treaties, negotiated almost as between equals, and granting the Indians not only relief from the numerous blunders and injustices of the United States, but even a delegate in the Confederate Congress and a pledge of ultimate statehood. The book closes with enlistment of the Indians in the Confederate army, and the hesitating and doubtful refusal of the Federal government to adopt a similar policy with the loyal Indians who had fled to Kansas.

Two men stand out in the study: Albert Pike, the Arkansas poet who negotiated the treaties of alliance and succeeded because he treated the Indians like white men, and John Ross, chief of the Cherokees. Ross's real statesmanship in holding his tribe neutral blocked the plans of Texas and Arkansas and the Confederacy until his policy broke down before the internal dissensions in his own tribe and the helplessness of the Federal government after the battle of Wilson's Creek. A brief discussion of his earlier life and heredity might well have been included. The author frankly holds a brief for the Indians and to most of her strictures on the Indian policy of the United States there is little to answer. The ignorance and weakness of the Federal government, which left the Indians unprotected and helpless, is in striking contrast with the recognition by Arkansas, Texas, and the Confederacy of the strategic importance of the Indian country and their prompt action to secure the allegiance of the Indians. Yet after all the neglect of the Federal government in the first year of the war is not hard to understand.

Miss Abel has written almost altogether from the sources, especially from the files of the Indian Office. Much use has been made of two series in particular, one of which the author unearthed and saved from probable destruction, and both of which are published in full in the appendixes. Every page shows evidence of painstaking study; perhaps it is sufficient to say that the work is quite up to the standard of the writer's well-known *History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River*. If any criticism may be offered it is that Miss Abel has shared a tendency toward over-documentation not unknown among American scholars to-day. A by no means insignificant part of the letters or reports printed in foot-notes or appendixes add little to the evidence before the reader and some appear absolutely trivial. However, this is a fault easily forgiven and an added if unnecessary proof of the writer's thoroughness and conscientiousness.

MINOR NOTICES

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1913. Volume I. (Washington, 1915, pp. 434.) The meeting reported upon in the first pages of this volume is that held at Charleston and Columbia now two years ago. Six of the papers read on that occasion, contributory to the substance of history, are here printed: that of Dr. Frank B. Marsh on Some Phases of the Problem of Provincial Administration under the Roman Republic, that of Dr. Walter P. Hall on Certain Early Reactions in England against the Laissez Faire Doctrine, that of Dr. Edmund C. Burnett on the Old Congress's Committee of the States, 1784, that of Professor James E. Walmsley on the Return of John C. Calhoun to the Senate in 1845, that of Mr. Theodore C. Jervey, exceptionally interesting, on Charleston during the Civil War, and that of Captain Oliver Spaulding, U. S. A., on the Bombardment of Fort Sumter

in 1861. Of papers of a more didactic order, we have three: one by Mr. Worthington C. Ford on Manuscripts and Historical Archives, one by Mr. Charles H. Hart on Frauds in Historical Portraiture, and one by Professor Nathaniel W. Stephenson on the Place of History in the Curriculum. The report of the conference of historical societies is accompanied by the usual body of statistical data concerning such societies, and marked by a paper by Professor Clarence W. Alvord on Planning the Publication Work of Historical Agencies. The report of the conference of archivists is accompanied by drafts of chapters of the proposed Manual of Archive Economy, by a detailed report on the archives of Wyoming by Professor James F. Willard, and by an elaborate list of more than two thousand reports and representations of the Board of Trade and its predecessors, 1660-1782, prepared by Professor Charles M. Andrews, and accompanied by references to the manuscripts in the Public Record Office, to the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial*, and to the *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*. Volume II. is especially devoted to the Papers of James A. Bayard, edited by Miss Elizabeth Donnan for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and is to be reviewed later.

Constantine the Great and Christianity: Three Phases: the Historical, the Legendary, and the Spurious. By Christopher Bush Coleman, Ph.D., Professor of History, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LX., no. 1, whole no. 146.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1914, pp. 258.) The interest in Constantine the Great and his relation to Christianity seems perennial. The subject has been approached from every point of view and with every sort of prejudice. Much has been expected of him if he played the rôle history has commonly assigned him in the religious revolution of the fourth century. His Christianity has been tested by ideals that would have astonished him. A calm and sober judgment has appeared almost impossible. The author of this carefully written monograph has succeeded better than anyone we recall in getting hold of the actual man, recognizing his faults and limitations but seizing the point that explained his attitude toward Christianity. A more objective judgment can hardly be expected. Much of the evidence, as the ugly Fausta incident, which has been used to show that Constantine was a skillful dissembler and merely politically a favorer of Christianity, is shown to prove nothing as to his real attitude. The author well says, "So far as we can judge he conceived his own service to the Supreme God to be chiefly by way of promoting his cult and his church and to this task he was true." We are shown how to understand the man as a convert to a form of Christianity unfortunately too prevalent, and carrying into his new religious associations, like so many other converts, many of his pagan modes of thought and ethical conceptions. The stages whereby he reached his position as patron of Christianity are clearly traced. The author is careful to support his conclusions by references

to sources, but one would like to have had the evidence to show that "Constantine employed the bishop of Rome in the West as a 'kind of secretary of state for Christian affairs'".

The author having presented the real Constantine discusses "The Legendary Constantine and Christianity" (pp. 99-172). This is, from the nature of the subject, less interesting than the earlier discussion, but the author again applies successfully what might be called psychological methods in tracing legends to their probable origin, a necessary, if not always certain, undertaking. The third part, "The Spurious Constantine: the Constitutum Constantini" (pp. 175-242), consists chiefly of a history of the discussion of the character of the Forged Donation. This is provided with some original documents, among which the most important is taken from the work of Nicholas of Cues, *De Concordantia Catholica*, the first exposure of the falsity of the Donation.

An ample bibliography is appended. As indicated, the book breaks into three parts. This, however, is involved in the theme of the author; to show how the actual Constantine became an almost mythical character. In spite of this defect in form, which it would have been difficult if not impossible to avoid, the volume is a useful presentation of a much-disputed character, valuable for the employment of all the material available and still more for its sane judgment and sound historical sense.

J. C. A., Jr.

The Establishment of Christianity and the Proscription of Paganism. By Maude Aline Huttman, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LX., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1914, pp. 257.) The title of this useful work is somewhat misleading. In reality, it consists of two parts entitled respectively: "Toleration under Constantine" and "Laws against Paganism in the Roman Codes". In the former, after a chapter on Constantine's personal religion, neither very exhaustive nor penetrative, the author plunges into the problem respecting the edicts of toleration, including the famous "Edict of Milan". She gives a careful examination of the conflicting theories of Seeck and of Görres, inclining, on the whole, to the opinion of the latter, that there was an Edict of Milan, which we find reproduced in essentials in the Edict of Nicomedia, which alone we actually have. This latter edict is then analyzed and interpreted. Under "Constantine's Legislation for Christians" we are given an account of the favors shown the adherents of his new religion. This is balanced with an excellent account of Constantine's laws respecting paganism, in which is discussed at some greater length the vague reference of Constantius to his father's prohibition of sacrifices. This section of the book concludes with a chapter on the oft-disputed point, paganism in connection with the "founding" of Constantinople. The conclusion of the author is that pagan rites were observed, though of not an elaborate character, that the patronage of paganism by Con-

stantine in the new city was at the most slight, and that he did not deviate from his principle of toleration in his new capital, which applied to heathen as well as to Christian.

The second part, according to its title, might be supposed to include only laws in the Theodosian and Justinian Codes, but its scope is considerably more ample. It includes laws preserved in histories and inscriptions, *e. g.*, the famous inscription of Hispellum. These laws and edicts are grouped under each reign, and for the reign of Constantine are of great value for the reader of the first part of the work, as here are the texts referred to in the longer historical discussion. The edicts and laws are grouped under each reign, and for each ruler's laws there is an historical and critical introduction giving a brief statement of his attitude toward Christianity and paganism. The laws are provided with notes, especially those of the earlier reigns, where the bulk of the writer's interest seems to be. The whole concludes with the customary bibliography which seems to be necessary in such productions.

The principal value of the book is its clear presentation of conflicting theories, its judicious weighing of arguments advanced on each side, and its cautious conclusions. There is nothing of the dash and paradox we would expect to find in German and French monographs on such a subject, which often seem to be little more than *tours de force* in special pleading. It is a prosaic attempt to understand the historical problem and to present reasonable but not startling conclusions, as well as abundant material for tracing the process of religious revolution after the death of Constantine. It is a book that ought to be of special value for the student of church history.

J. C. A., Jr.

The Venetian Republic: its Rise, its Growth, and its Fall, A. D. 409-1797. By W. Carew Hazlitt. In two volumes. (London, Adam and Charles Black, New York, the Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. xxxix, 988; xv, 1080.) Mr. Hazlitt was only twenty-four years old in 1858 when he published his first essay on Venetian history, out of which the work grew, by successive additions, to its final massive form. The two volumes recently issued aggregate more than 2000 pages, of which some 350 pages have been added since the third edition of 1900. Mr. Hazlitt's devotion to his subject never flagged through more than half a century, and we can imagine that if his life had been prolonged to the age of the Hebrew patriarchs, he would have gone on bringing out an amplified edition of his history for each new generation; unless indeed the time came when the last fact was gleaned.

The new parts of the work consist largely of details concerning Venetian civilization during the last four centuries of the republic, that period of magnificence which has most dazzled posterity, but which really witnessed the decline and decrepitude of Venice. Historical students do not need to be reminded that material pertaining to Venetian

life and manners during the Renaissance and later has been edited in an ever-increasing stream for several decades; and it is just such material that Mr. Hazlitt has incorporated in his new edition. He has not neglected the earlier periods, but the store of new facts or new documents about them is comparatively small.

As I said in reviewing the earlier edition, *The Venetian Republic* is both a history and an encyclopedia. Even more valuable than Mr. Hazlitt's narrative of the evolution of the Venetian state are the many chapters, each of which is an essay, on the manners and customs of the people. He writes exhaustively and enables you to trace the rise, growth, and decay of each manifestation of popular life, or of religion or of the arts. As a writer he has much personal flavor, never hesitating to express an opinion and often taking brief excursions into fields other than that under his immediate attention. This results in diffuseness, which occasionally causes us to wish that a judicious blue pencil had been applied to his manuscript.

Mr. Hazlitt did not live to revise the proofs of his final edition, but we need not suppose that he would have made many changes. The work stands as he would have left it, and nobody who uses it will fail to pay tribute to its many points of excellence. The reader in search of a brief, consecutive story of the Venetian Republic will turn to Mr. Horatio Brown's *Historical Sketch* and then, when he wishes to extend his knowledge of a particular topic or episode, he will consult Hazlitt's thesaurus. It does not seem likely that the history of Venice will ever be written again in English on so ample a scale.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Studies and Notes supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History. By Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Honorary Professor in the University of Lille, Rector of the Academy of Grenoble. Translated by W. T. Waugh, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in History. Volume II. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXII.] (Manchester, University Press, 1914, pp. 147-316.) The first volume of these supplementary studies, covering roughly the ground of volume I. of Stubbs, appeared in connection with M. Petit-Dutaillis's French edition of the *Constitutional History* in 1907, and, translated into English, in the *Manchester University* series in 1908. With its twelve studies and notes, it was truly, as Professor Tait said in his preface, a student's supplement to Stubbs. To publish the volume under review with the same title is grotesque. How many supplements, original or summaries, are now due the student on the teeming period (1215-1399) of Stubbs's second volume? Yet here we have but two papers (as originally published, of course, along with the French text of Stubbs where the new foot-notes are valuable additions); one, of 105 pages, on "The Forest and the Right of the Chase in Medieval England"—quite clearly a supplement to Turner's introduction to *Select Pleas of the Forest* and Lieber-

mann's treatise on the "Pseudo-Cnut *Constitutiones*"; the other, of 53 pages, on "Causes and General Characteristics of the Rising of 1381", supplementary to M. Petit-Dutaillis's own introduction to Réville's *Soulèvement*.

But let them be welcomed in English under any title; they are valuable studies and excellent reading, as scarcely needs stating. Like those of the first volume, they unite original research with the use and acute criticism of recent monographs and articles—some thirty to thirty-five in each paper. In their broad outlines the results are not strikingly new, or, in fact, final. The author has used "such printed records, whether published in full or calendared", as he has "been able to consult". Very learned commentaries they make, with many keen explanations and new details: for example, the nicer definitions of *forest*, *park*, *warren* (p. 149 *et seq.*), and *purlieu* (p. 233 *et seq.*), and the analysis of the Assize of Woodstock (p. 175 *et seq.*) in the first paper; the discussion of the dislocation between the economic and the legal advance of the peasants (p. 262 *et seq.*), their variety of motive and the lack of formulation in their revolt (p. 278), the chance character of the Smithfield events (p. 287, note 1) in the second.

In treating the forest M. Petit-Dutaillis has the advantage of his full knowledge of the whole background of Continental forest law. As in his previous work, the Continental origin of the English forest is assumed, and there are here many interesting illustrations of the connection. As in Mr. Turner's study, the interest centres in the thirteenth century; little is done for the time of forest decline, for which "elaborate researches among original records would be necessary". So much is being done just now on fourteenth-century movements antecedent to, and conditioning, the rising of 1381—indeed has been done since M. Petit-Dutaillis wrote—that one feels the second paper already lagging a bit behind the literature. The town risings do not get their due attention, and it is acknowledged that much is still to be learned on all aspects of the subject by "a thorough examination of the judicial documents of the second half of the fourteenth century".

A. B. WHITE.

Some Love Songs of Petrarch. Translated and annotated with a biographical introduction by William Dudley Foulke, LL.D. (London and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1915, pp. 244.) This little volume spreads a feast which the small and diminishing band of Petrarch lovers will welcome with glad acclaim. Its mainstay, as indicated in the title, is a translation of selected poems of the *Canzoniere*.

I have omitted those poems which are filled with elaborate mythological allusions, metaphors, and similes . . . or with excessive punning upon the name of Laura. I have also omitted most of the poems filled with the artificial conceits of the troubadours and those which seem to be gymnastic exercises in the art of rhyming (p. 126).

Considerable omissions these but necessary to make Petrarch palatable, above all in translation, to the modern reader. The famous lover of Laura has long been a classic according to the familiar definition of an author who is no longer read. To save him for our age, the method of excision and reduction carried out by Matthew Arnold for some of the English classics becomes unavoidable. Even thus compressed to his essential message the Italian sonneteer runs the risk of appealing to our ruder taste as candied fruit, which, though it flatters, quickly gluts the senses, leaving behind an active craving for more solid nourishment. However, for the historian, it is rather Petrarch the humanist than Petrarch the poet who awakens interest, and with Petrarch's humanism the present author is only casually concerned. He has prefaced his translations with an excellent little biographical sketch coupling sane judgment with a knowledge of the sources but neither adding nor claiming to add anything new. From the purely historical and scholarly point of view the most interesting feature of the book is the discussion contained in appendix I. of the many questions that have arisen touching the reality behind the adored Laura of the poems. The conclusion that the Abbé de Sade's identification, though supported by often dubious material, cannot in its main claims be overthrown, seems to square with the opinion of the majority of present-day students.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Diplomatieke Betrekkingen tusschen Spanje en de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1678-1684. Door Dr. S. W. A. Drossaers. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1915, pp. viii, 172.) The six years covered by Dr. Drossaers's monograph are for western Europe years of political depression between the ebbing of one great tide of opposition to the predominance of France and the gathering of another. The diplomacy of the time is tentative: treaties are made and broken, congresses assemble and do nothing, troops are levied but withheld from action. To explain this shuffling and fumbling for a cheap peace is no easy task. Dr. Drossaers extricates a single relationship, that of the Dutch Republic with Spain, and analyzes it with clarity and thoroughness. His research in the archives at Brussels and the Hague has brought to light much interesting material hitherto unused. The introductory chapter sketches summarily the decline of Spain in the seventeenth century, with many illustrations drawn from the letters of the Dutch envoy and consuls in Spain and the correspondence of the Governor-general of the Netherlands with the Spanish court. This is by way of background for the principal thesis developed in the three remaining chapters, which is, that the republic in 1683-1684 acted in the spirit of its treaty with Spain, though failing by force of circumstances to observe the letter. One is disposed to concede this even with less ample proof than the author is willing to provide, nor do I recall that the contrary has been maintained, except, it may be, by Spanish writers.

Especially noteworthy, as the author suggests, are the activities of the Prince of Orange during this period. It is an epitome of his career, showing the pettiness at home and the weakness and opportunism abroad with which he had to contend in his efforts to build up a coalition against France; showing, too, the undefeated determination with which he sustained defeat.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

Baron d'Holbach: a Study of Eighteenth-Century Radicalism in France. By Max Pearson Cushing. (New York, 1914, pp. 108.) Holbach was a distinguished member of that group of eighteenth-century writers who were sometimes known as the Encyclopaedists. For many years his house was a kind of philosophical seminary; and he must, one supposes, have exercised a good deal of influence, not only because he was himself a man of ability, but because he was so constantly in touch with a great number of the intellectuals. Besides, he himself, in the *Système de la Nature*, a book printed many times and translated into English, German, and Italian, "gathered up", as Lord Morley says, "all the scattered explosives of the criticism of the century into one thundering engine of revolt and destruction". Yet this man, as Mr. Cushing says, "has no biographer". That is in itself a fact requiring explanation, and an adequate explanation of it would bring out the strength and weakness of Holbach, both as a man and as a thinker, and some fundamental characteristics of eighteenth-century thought as well.

As far as it goes, Mr. Cushing's book is useful, but it is rather too slight to carry the title. There is a chapter on Holbach the Man, another devoted to presenting the essential bibliographical information about his works, a third devoted to his principal work, the *Système de la Nature*. The extant letters of Holbach, there are very few of them, are printed in an appendix, and the study closes with an excellent bibliography of all his writings. One welcomes even this much, but it is far from being an adequate treatment of the subject. Mr. Cushing says that Holbach's house was "the social centre of the century". It was at least one of the important intellectual centres of the century; but one wishes to know how much influence came from this centre, of what kind it was, and through what channels propagated. Again, it is said that to Holbach's "translations from the best German scientific works is largely due the spread of scientific learning in France in the eighteenth century". This is important, if true; but we should like to have it well established. Almost the whole question of Holbach's place in the intellectual history of the time is involved in an adequate treatment of these two points. Mr. Cushing has scarcely done more than to make the preliminary work for a study of Holbach; but the care which he has given to this preliminary work leads one to regret that he should not have found it possible to furnish us with a book which might be pronounced adequate to the subject.

CARL BECKER.

German Culture: the Contribution of the Germans to Knowledge, Literature, Art, and Life. Edited by Professor W. P. Paterson of Edinburgh University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, pp. x, 384.) This is a collection of essays by nine British writers all of whom are university specialists. The preface and the final essay, on religion and theology in Germany, are contributed by the general editor, who is a professor of divinity. Professor Richard Lodge, of Edinburgh, contributes an historical sketch of Germany and Prussia. A. D. Lindsay, fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, discusses German philosophy; Professor J. Arthur Thomson, of Aberdeen, German science; Dr. John Lees, lecturer at Aberdeen, German literature; Professor G. Baldwin Brown, of Edinburgh, German art; Professor D. F. Tovey, of Edinburgh, German music; Dr. Michael E. Sadler, vice-chancellor of the University of Leeds, German education, and Professor D. H. Macgregor, of Leeds, the political and economic aspects of German nationalism. The word "culture" is used very much as the Germans use *Kultur*.

After animadverting on the recent German pose of superiority to the rest of the world and the present tendency in Great Britain to disparage Germany as a "second-rate figure and perhaps not much better than a plagiarist and impostor", the editor observes that the latter view is "as little fair and sane as the estimate put upon Germany by herself in her worst accesses of megalomania". He goes on to say that "the Germans are undoubtedly one of the great peoples of history", and that they have made some mark—often a very deep mark—"in every department of the life and labor of the human spirit". The "aim of the present book", he then explains, "is to give a somewhat detailed account of what Germany has thus accomplished in the chief spheres of human activity, and an effort has been made to estimate the value of its work without prepossession or prejudice".

All who hope for the speedy return of international comity and sanity of judgment among the knights of the intellect will be disposed to commend this enterprise of British scholars. It was a good and timely idea, and only a very captious or fanatical critic could find fault with the general temper and spirit manifested in the volume. The various chapters are written with fullness of knowledge and fairness of mind. The large matters discussed are necessarily treated with a brevity which leaves much unsaid, and this makes here and there an impression of sketchiness. In some of the chapters, especially in those dealing with literature, art, and music, some allowance has to be made for the personal equation; another unbiased expert might judge this and that differently. This was inevitable and is of little moment in view of the evident and well-sustained effort of the writers to look at their several subjects in a large way and to write with a judicial mind.

Evidently no one reviewer can presume to pass the judgment of an expert on the volume as a whole, and we have no space for extended quotation. The longest of the contributions—nearly a hundred pages—

is the one devoted to German science, and this teems with high and generous appreciation. "For we can not allow what has been done to-day to affect our judgment of scientific achievements in the past." The shortest chapter, at the same time the least technical and the most illuminative for the general reader, is Dr. Sadler's admirable account of German education.

CALVIN THOMAS.

La Russie et la Guerre. By Grégoire Alexinsky, Ancien Député à la Douma. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1915, pp. 568.) M. Grégoire Alexinsky, author of *La Russie Moderne*, has given to the world another interesting and timely book, *La Russie et la Guerre*. It is not an account of battles but a discussion of the social and intellectual forces which animate present-day Russia. The book is divided into three parts: (1) Before the War; (2) The War; (3) After the War.

In the first part the author takes up the international position of Russia since the Japanese War, the European political situation which led to the alliances between Russia, France, and England, the relations between Germany and Russia, the Balkan Question, the social, military, and industrial condition of Russia before the war. He concludes by pointing out that neither the people nor the bureaucracy desired the conflict.

The second part deals with the shifting diplomacy just before the outbreak of hostilities, the national character of the war, the hope of the large mass of the educated that the defeat of Germany will put an end to the reactionary influence of the German party in Russia, the fear of some liberals that a Russian victory will strengthen the autocracy, the financial and military measures taken to carry on the struggle, and the high ideals and patriotic devotion of the army.

In the third part the author discusses some of the results of the war, assuming that the allies will be victorious. He hopes that Russia will not demand an increase of territory, and that the Dardanelles and Constantinople will be neutralized. He maintains that the defeat of Germany will bring about the overthrow of absolutism and militarism and will encourage the growth of democracy everywhere, and particularly in Russia where the influence of France and England will be strongly felt.

M. Alexinsky is a social-democrat and he looks on the war from the point of view of a liberal. This does not mean that he distorts the facts, for he does not. But to him the important question is: will the Russian government become more democratic after the war? He believes, or rather hopes, that it will. He gives arguments to support his position but he himself realizes how unconvincing they are if judged by the despotic acts of the present régime since the commencement of the war. He begs the reader not to confuse the Russia of czarism with the Russia of the people. In saying that Russia should not lay claim to Constanti-

AM. HIST. REV., VOL. XXI.—24.

noble he speaks for himself and not for the Russian people. Liberals like Miliukov and Raditchev would hardly agree with him on this point, to say nothing of the conservative leaders.

Students of history who have closely followed Russian affairs will find in the book little that is new. The author has, nevertheless, done a real service by bringing together the various social phenomena which are stirring the Russian people and discussing them honestly, intelligently, and, as much as it is possible under the circumstances, impartially.

F. A. GOLDER.

American Policy: the Western Hemisphere in its Relation to the Eastern. By John Bigelow, Major U. S. Army, Retired. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914, pp. vi, 184.) Major Bigelow has made a contribution to American policy rather than to American history, although he presents his views as based upon historic development. His book was written before the Great War, and the incentive for it is to be found on the last three pages. He wrote it fearing the Anglo-Saxon *rapprochement* which played so large a part in the thought of the period following the Spanish War. It seemed to him that, for purposes of international policy, the unity of the Americans was more fundamental than that of race, whether Anglo-Saxon or Latin. He would foster Pan-Americanism. The greatest problem of the Americans, in his opinion, is the underpopulation of the Latin countries and the numerical predominance there of non-white elements. He would encourage the flow of United States population into this region and the study of United States institutions by the citizens of those countries. Even if reasonably populated, the Americans would still be inferior in strength to the outside world, and friendships should be cultivated; first, that of Germany, and, more fundamentally, those of Japan and Russia.

Major Bigelow realizes that the Monroe Doctrine is a policy, but he cannot escape the American habit and he treats it as if it were a documented law. While he realizes that other nations are not bound by it, he cannot realize that United States policy is ever controlled by circumstance. The middle third of the book deals with contraventions of the Doctrine. He differentiates the Washington "Precept" and the "Doctrine" of Monroe from Pan-Americanism, and denominates the latter the Bolivar "Idea".

In a book of this size and one which is primarily one of opinion, the selection of facts, whether as to illustrative value or accuracy, seldom has historic value. Major Bigelow's objection to Great Britain's annexation of New Zealand and Fiji as violations of the Monroe Doctrine because they lie in the Western Hemisphere, will seem to many highly technical. A merit of the book lies in Major Bigelow's unusually wide acquaintance with the writings of Latin-American publicists. On page 98, 1871 should be 1861.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Some Aspects of the Tariff Question. By Frank William Taussig, Ph.D., Litt.D., Henry Lee Professor of Economics, Harvard University. [Harvard Economic Studies, published under the Direction of the Department of Economics, vol. XII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915, pp. 374.) The author, who has been publishing on this subject for many years, gives us in this volume the results of his ripe scholarship—the fruits of about thirty years of study. The work is in no significant sense a reprint of earlier writings. Many topics and many details on different topics were required for completeness in the *Tariff History of the United States* that are omitted here. He deals here only with the sugar, iron and steel, copper, wool and woollens, and cotton industries.

Professor Taussig, while granting the validity of the doctrine of of protection to young industries, manifests a general leaning toward free trade. He never, however, uses the language or the methods of an advocate, but is always strictly scientific. He shows the unsoundness of the popular arguments on both sides impartially. The growth of American manufactures and the recent rapid expansion of our export trade he ascribes chiefly to the doctrine of comparative advantage. Such advantage in connection with rich resources calls, under normal conditions, for high wages: general domestic high wages, under such circumstances, are not an obstacle to international competition. But of greater importance than rich resources are the social environment and the genius of the people. These are applied with most telling effect where products easily capable of standardization are produced in large masses, by complex and automatic or semi-automatic machinery for a wide market. For in such cases only can machinery be used to the greatest advantage on the basis of decreasing unit costs. The author explodes the doctrine that protection as a universal rule either checks or causes progress in improved methods.

In detail, Professor Taussig concludes that the duty on raw sugar has been a heavy burden on the consumer chiefly for the benefit of the grower (except in the case of the Louisiana cane-growers and the producers of beet sugar). He grants much less influence to the duty on refined sugar and to the sugar trust than is usually the case. So far as the Louisiana cane sugar and the beet sugar producers are concerned, they have, generally speaking, been able to make but fair profits while carrying on an industry which from the public standpoint is undesirable. Here he calls attention, as in the case of the silk industry, to the social danger of maintaining, by means of a protective tariff, an industry which is at such a comparative disadvantage that it can live only by exploiting cheap foreign labor. The great growth of the iron and steel industry (excepting such products as are not easily amenable to the application of large scale, standardized, mass-production), he considers not due, primarily, to the tariff, but explains it by the doctrine of comparative advantage (pp. 154-158). The tariff in such a case merely adds to the

gains of a successful venture. The development of the copper industry he thinks needed no tariff (p. 169). The silk manufacture, unquestionably built up by the tariff, he regards as unsuited to the genius of the American people, which tends towards standardized, mass, automatic, machine-production. So of the woollen and worsted industries and the finer grades of cottons.

JOHN H. GRAY.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume XLVIII., October, 1914-June 1915. (Boston, the Society, 1915, pp. xvii, 553.) The attentive reader of this new volume of the *Proceedings* will perhaps be impressed, most of all, with the loss which the society has sustained in the death of Mr. Charles Francis Adams. He had been president of the society for twenty years, and had certainly left a stronger impress upon it than any of its preceding presidents unless it were James Savage; and his influence must on the whole be counted as more salutary than that of Savage, his range of thought and historical interest having been much broader. Before his presidency, the output of the society had been scholarly indeed, but almost confined in interest to the history of a single state before 1789. Mr. Adams's energy, independence, and breadth of thought kept it out of the ruts of tradition and drew it on to wider and later fields. Moreover, each volume of its *Proceedings* has in later years consisted largely of well-made, vigorous, and interesting contributions from his pen, which can ill be spared from the papers of a society not composed primarily of historical writers. In the present volume his chief contribution is a long paper on the British Proclamation of May, 1861, into which he wove much of the fresh material he had recently gathered from the papers of British statesmen of that period, and which therefore leaves the case for the British course of action more reasonable than it had ever appeared before. Tributes to his memory and memoirs of a number of other departed members fill an additional portion of the volume. Of the other contents, the most noteworthy papers contributed by members are those of Mr. Jonathan Smith on Toryism in Worcester County, of Professor John S. Bassett on the Development of the Popular Churches after the Revolution, and of Professor Theodore C. Smith on General Garfield at Chickamauga. Of the groups of documents, the most important are a collection of letters of William Pynchon, the instructions and despatches of the British commissioners at Ghent in 1814, and a body of extracts from the diary of Benjamin Moran, who from 1860 to 1868 was a secretary of the American legation in London. Moran had excellent opportunities for the observation of events of signal importance to the history of his country, but was not a man of sufficient calibre to make use of these opportunities in such a way as to make his diary a source of primary importance. Nevertheless it adds many interesting touches to the history of Mr. Adams's legation.

Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691-1740. By Susan Martha Reed, Ph.D., Professor of History, Lake Erie College. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. III., no. 4.] (Urbana, published by the University of Illinois, 1915, pp. 208.) Dr. Reed has done a real service for the illumination of a rather obscure period in colonial history. The circumstances under which toleration and exemption from taxation were secured for Quakers, Baptists, and Anglicans in Massachusetts have never been so fully presented, or the causes leading to these results so carefully examined or the various influences estimated. In particular, Dr. Reed makes evident a degree of influence on the part of the Quakers in securing the religious freedom obtained which had not been previously recognized but of which she gives ample proof, making it evident that the largest single force in obtaining toleration and exemption from taxation in the period she has in review, was that of the Quaker communion. By reason of their close relations with the English Quakers, especially through the London Yearly Meeting, and the respect which these Friends commanded from the Whig leaders through their wealth and influence, the New England Quakers were able to bring pressure to bear upon the Massachusetts legislative authorities, and actually did so in the period under consideration more effectively than Anglicans or Baptists. This valuation of Quaker influence is Dr. Reed's chief contribution to a clearer understanding of the forces at work in this period, and her task has been thoroughly well done.

A few minor blemishes may be noted. She seems to have forgotten (pp. 9, 25) that the "old church membership qualification for voting" had been repealed in the colonial period in 1664, and had not continued throughout that epoch. Those who know the Genevan situation under Calvin will regard the statement that "the alliance between church and state" was one "which the Massachusetts government had carried further than it had ever been in Geneva" as highly exaggerated. But these are very minor defects in a meritorious contribution to Massachusetts history.

WILLISTON WALKER.

The Creed of the Old South, 1865-1915. By Basil L. Gildersleeve. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1915, pp. 129.) Many readers of the *Atlantic Monthly* of 1892 and 1897 will still remember the delight with which they read the two papers, "The Creed of the Old South" and "A Southerner in the Peloponnesian War", by the now venerable and always brilliant Greek professor of the Johns Hopkins University. For twenty years before the Hopkins was founded he had been professor of Greek in the University of Virginia, and he had served in the Confederate Army—a Virginian Confederate, but one of Carolinian antecedents and Princeton and German training, and of such wide reading and keen intelligence that he could not take provincial views, though he could appreciate well the worth of provincial character. Twenty-five years

after the war he made his attempt to show a later generation what were the feelings with which a Southern scholar and gentleman put on and wore the Confederate uniform. One who read the essay then remembers well not only the charm of that grace and wit which it has in common with all its author's writings, down to the merest note in the *American Journal of Philology*, but still more the moving power of that eloquent presentation of the Lost Cause as a scholar saw it. It was new doctrine to many a reader, and inspired new and salutary feeling. In reading it again, when still another quarter-century has passed, there is a deep satisfaction, to one who has been occupied with the teaching of American history, in perceiving that, while as charming as ever, it will seem to the young present-day reader far less striking, so much have Time and the teachers and writers of history enlarged the general appreciation of the Southern cause. The other paper, "A Southerner in the Peloponnesian War", ranges with delectable learning and humor around the parallels that might be drawn between the war of North and South and the war of Athens and Sparta. It is frankly said at the beginning, in characteristic phrase, that "Historical parallel bars are usually set up for exhibiting feats of mental agility"; but Professor Gildersleeve has shown in his *Pindar*, and shows in glimpses here, how well he can depict, with a few strokes, the essential likeness of the thinking non-Athenian Greek—Boeotian or Spartan—to the thinking Virginian of 1861.

The Illinois Whigs before 1846. By Charles Manfred Thompson, Ph.D., Associate in Economics, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. IV., no. 1.] (Urbana, Ill., published by the University, 1915, pp. 159.) As stated in the preface, "This study is intended to be but preliminary to a history of the Illinois Whigs, which will consider not only the origin and development, but also the decline and decay of that party." The titles to the five chapters indicate the general scope of the work. I. Genesis of the Illinois Whigs, 1809-1834. II. The Emergence of the Whig Party, 1834-1839. III. Harrison and Tyler, 1839-1841. IV. Sectionalism and State Issues, 1841-1845. V. The Illinois Whigs and National Politics, 1841-1845. The study is an excellent introduction to the promised complete history of the party. There is abundant evidence from the foot-notes on nearly every page and from the classified bibliographical references that available materials have been wisely used and the plan of the work deserves high commendation. The study should be read having constantly in mind the history which is to follow, and the two books will serve as guides to a correct knowledge of the national Whig party. Only through state parties are national parties understood. Illinois holds a favorable position for exemplifying national politics. It had in itself a north and a south. While the nation was excited over the question of

slavery in Missouri there was a corresponding contest in the neighboring state which resulted in a victory for free labor in 1824. No state was more vitally interested in the subject of internal improvements and in the banking system. During the early years state politics overshadowed national politics. There was great confusion in party issues and in the use of party names. Throughout the period covered by Dr. Thompson's work personal leadership dominated national politics, and this was pre-eminently characteristic of Illinois politics. Joseph Duncan was elected governor in 1834. "Men of all shades of political belief voted for him, evidently believing that he represented their views regarding national issues."

When the work which Dr. Thompson has projected for the Whigs of Illinois shall have been completed for all the parties in all the older states the student will be supplied with the necessary means for gaining a correct, comprehensive view of our national politics.

JESSE MACY.

A Concise History of New Mexico. By L. Bradford Prince, LL.D. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the Torch Press, 1912, pp. 272.) The author of this book is well known as ex-governor of New Mexico, president of the Historical Society of New Mexico, and author of several works relating to the history of that state. As he tells us in his preface, the book consists primarily of a condensation and revision of his *Historical Sketches of New Mexico*, published in 1883, "for the general reader and for use in the schools of New Mexico". Like the older work, which was issued as a tri-centennial memorial, this was issued to mark the close of the history of the territorial period in New Mexico history.

Most of the condensation was done many years ago. As a matter of fact, the condensation feature is not especially striking—272 pages against 327 of about equal size. Some emendation of the older work has been done on the basis of material acquired by the New Mexico Historical Society.

On the whole the book should serve its purposes well, and is welcome, particularly in view of the burning of the plates of the *Historical Sketches*.

H. E. B.

The Sovereign Council of New France: a Study in Canadian Constitutional History. By Raymond du Bois Cahall, Ph.D., Acting Assistant Professor of European History and Government, Miami University. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. 274.) The French régime in North America has afforded many a theme for the historian of the romantic school. Only recently has it come to be recognized as a fruitful field for the student of institutions. While the aspirants for the doctor's degree have been studying the minutiae of the government of the English colonies the political and administrative

structure upon which Louis XIV. endeavored to build an empire in the New World has been almost ignored.

It is therefore most encouraging to find in the present volume, following as it does, Professor Munro's work on the *Seigniorial System in Canada*, evidence that the attention of students is being turned to the institutions which for over a century had their important part in the historical development of the valleys of the Saint Lawrence and the Mississippi.

The Sovereign Council was the most important political institution of the French régime in Canada. It corresponded only in the vaguest way to the governor's council or to the assemblies of the English colonies, for its functions were far more diversified. The first three chapters of the present study are devoted to a narrative history of the council from 1647 to 1763. Much attention is devoted to the quarrels between the council and the governor, which have already been detailed to us by Parkman and others. One feels that the study, as a study in institutional history, would have been more effective had this part of it been restricted to the limits of an introductory chapter.

The remaining chapters deal with the membership and organization of the council, its methods of procedure, its functions, and its administrative and judicial achievements. This part of the study, based upon the records of the council, preserved in Quebec, constitutes a valuable contribution not only to Canadian political history, but, because of the great variety of the council's functions, to economic and social history as well.

The principal limitation of the study is that its point of view is too exclusively Canadian. One cannot help feeling that researches in Paris should have supplemented the author's investigations in Ottawa and Quebec, and that more attention should have been given to French institutions in general, and to provincial administration in particular, as the proper background of colonial institutions and administration.

Latin America. By William R. Shepherd, Professor of History in Columbia University. [Home University Library.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914, pp. 256.) Small books on great subjects have their difficulties, and these are increased when the subject is not only great but complex. The twenty republics lying to the south of the United States—Spanish, Portuguese, French-negro—vary immensely in conditions and characteristics. To treat this vast, complex total—Latin-American geography, demography, history, politics, economics, civilization—in fifty-odd thousand words, or, the more immediate matter of this review, to treat all Latin-American history in twenty thousand, is an appalling task, hardly capable of satisfactory accomplishment. Professor Shepherd has acquitted himself of it better than anyone could readily be expected to do. He has a clear and definite plan. He does not waste

time over the many exceptions and qualifications that must be made to every broad general statement respecting Spanish American history. He tries to give its due amount of attention to the "neglected period" between 1580 and 1780, though solid general statements in that field are hard to make. He gives quite its proportional space to the simpler history of Portuguese America. What is said of the histories of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Central America is very slight. The account of Spanish colonial administration is less satisfactory than that of Spanish American civilization in the period before independence. The history of the republics, for the last hundred years, is as well characterized as the space permits.

Compendio de la Historia General de América. Por Carlos Navarro y Lamarca. Prólogo de D. EDUARDO DE HINOJOSA. Tomo II. (Buenos Aires, Angel Estrada y Compañía, 1913, pp. xi, 886.) The period covered in this second volume of Dr. Navarro's elaborate manual extends practically from the conquest of Mexico to the attainment of independence by the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Supplementary chapters or paragraphs carry the story chronologically forward to the freedom of the Dominican Republic and Cuba from foreign rule and to the separation of Panama from Colombia. The work, therefore, is a history of colonization in America, but one hardly so comprehensive in scope and proportion as the title indicates. A treatise written in Spanish presupposes naturally a dominant interest in Latin America which would reduce an account of the areas under English, Dutch, and French control to a minimum, though not perhaps to only about seventy-five pages.

Now the question arises whether the author has traversed ground already examined, or whether he has branched out into fields that are little known. In a work devoted to the history of Spanish and Portuguese dominion in the New World the period stretching from the conquest to the revolution calls for especial consideration. But the lure of an abundance of secondary material concerning what happened or existed before the middle of the sixteenth century, and from 1806 to 1826, is so powerful that new writers fall readily into the temptation of following in the wake of their predecessors. Dr. Navarro's first volume bulked excessively large on the situation prior to 1519;¹ his second similarly assigns to the conventionalized periods altogether too much attention. The achievements of two centuries and a half of colonial development he discusses in fewer than 140 pages given over to a descriptive account of the institutions and culture found within the Spanish area alone. It may be true that the occurrences before and after these 250 years lend themselves more easily to a narrative form of treatment, but the circumstance does not justify a failure to make any effort at all in this direction. Moreover, if the Spanish sections are chosen for what

¹ *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 595.

might be termed a "static" consideration of the topics in question, why not the Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch in some measure also?

Replete though the manual is with notes, references, maps, and illustrations far surpassing those contained in any other work of its nature known to the reviewer, much will have to be done before it satisfies the conditions under which it may be employed to the best advantage. It is one thing to compile bibliographical data, and quite another to select just the material that will be accessible to the student in the various countries of Latin America where good libraries are scarce. Of the latter point the author has not taken sufficient heed. Then, too, the copious foot-notes furnished in addition to the elaborate references appended to the chapters appear rather anomalous in what is primarily a text-book. At times (*e. g.*, p. 255) the foot-note is much more comprehensive than the importance of the topic in the text would warrant. Misspelling or misquotation of non-Spanish words, and errors or discrepancies in the maps are numerous. Though usually apt enough, the illustrations are so poorly executed in many cases as to become almost caricatures. From the table of contents an entire chapter is omitted. Yet, despite all these defects, Dr. Navarro has produced a praiseworthy piece of work that raises very appreciably the standard of such manuals in Latin America.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

HISTORICAL NEWS

It is expected that the General Index to Volumes XI.-XX. of this journal will be published before our next number appears. Up to the date of the publication of this index, orders for it, and orders for its predecessor, the General Index to volumes I.-X., will be received at the price of one dollar for each; after that date, the price of both will be raised to \$1.25. Orders should be addressed to the publishers, the Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York. The prices mentioned are for copies in paper binding. If indexes bound in black half-morocco, uniform with the binding of the *Review*, are desired, fifty cents should be added.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-first annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Washington, December 28-31, promises, as we go to press, to be attended by a quite exceptional number of members. The programme stands substantially as reported in our last issue. The main subject for the annual conference of historical societies is the papers of business firms, their collection and use for historical purposes. The general meeting of allied societies in behalf of a National Archive Building is held in the Continental Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and consists largely of illustrated addresses. Among other archive-pictures, the architectural studies prepared for the proposed building in Washington by Mr. Louis A. Simon, of the office of the Supervising Architect, are to be thrown on the screen. Receptions at the building of the Pan-American Union, at the National Museum, and at the house of Hon. and Mrs. John W. Foster, are announced.

The annual preparatory meeting of the Executive Council was held in New York on November 27. The annual report made on that occasion by the Board of Editors of this journal has, by vote of the Council, been printed and distributed to members of the Association.

In honor of Professor H. Morse Stephens, Professor J. L. Myres of Oxford has published a pamphlet analysis of 28 pages entitled *The Provision for Historical Studies at Oxford, surveyed in a Letter to the President of the American Historical Association on Occasion of its Meeting in California, 1915* (Oxford University Press).

In the *Original Narratives* series, the printing of Professor Herbert E. Bolton's volume, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, has not been completed in season to admit of publication in November or December; it will appear in February. The concluding volume of the

series, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, edited by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, will appear either late in the spring or early in the autumn. Mr. Bolton's volume consists mainly of narratives never before printed in English; several have never been printed even in Spanish.

PERSONAL

Theodor Brieger, professor of church history in the University of Leipzig, and one of the editors of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, died in Leipzig on June 8, 1915, aged seventy-three years. His numerous historical writings related chiefly to Luther and his period.

Dr. James Sullivan has been appointed by the Regents of the University of the State of New York director of archives and history in the University, under arrangements by which that office will hereafter embrace the functions hitherto exercised by the state historian, the work of the chief archivist, and that of the public records division.

Dr. Albert E. McKinley, hitherto of Temple University, has become a professor of American history and pedagogics in the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. John Zedler has been made professor of history and political science in Albion College.

Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, who for the last two years has been an instructor in Columbia University, and during the two years preceding was in the service of the Carnegie Institution at Seville, has been elected professor of history, with special view to Latin-American history, in the University of New Mexico.

Dr. Frank J. Klingberg has been promoted to the full rank of professor of modern European history in the University of Southern California.

GENERAL

In celebration of the centenary anniversary of Argentine independence, an American Congress of Bibliography and History will be held at Buenos Aires and Tucumán in July, 1916. In the historical section, papers relating to all periods of American history will be included. The president of the executive committee is Dr. Nicanor Sarmiento. Its secretary is Dr. Ignacio S. Toledo (hijo), Avenida de Mayo 715, Buenos Aires, from whom the provisional programme can be obtained. It is planned in Brazil that another American Congress of History shall take place at Rio de Janeiro in 1922.

The American Jewish Historical Society holds its twenty-fourth annual meeting in Philadelphia on February 20 and 21. The corresponding secretary is Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, 38 Park Row, New York. The society has just brought out Number 23 of its *Publications* (pp. 236), upon which we shall be able to comment later.

La Géographie de l'Histoire (Paris, 1914, pp. 70) is an excellent essay by J. Brunhes based upon some of his lectures at the College of France.

The *Skifter* of the Academy of Sciences of Christiania for 1914, Hist.-Fil. Kl. (Christiania, Jacob Dybwad, 1915, 2 vols.), contains a long monograph (493 pp.) by Dr. S. Eitrem on ceremonies of sacrifice among the Greeks and Romans; a group of short studies by Professor Alexander Bugge on various points in Norwegian history in the eleventh century, such as the designs of Magnus the Good upon England, his death, the joint kingdom of Magnus and Harald Sigurdsson, the marriage of Harald Haardraade, and the expeditions of Magnus Barfot to the British Isles; a monograph (in German) on "Das Christus-Mysterium" by Dr. Christian A. Bugge; a work on indications of heathen worship in Norwegian place-names by Professor Magnus Olsen; and one (in German) on "Altnordische Waffenkunde" by Professor Hjalmar Falk.

The third number of the *Catholic Historical Review* (October) has articles on Lulworth Castle by C. M. Antony; on Pioneer Efforts in Catholic Journalism in the United States by Dr. Paul J. Foik; and on Catholic Beginnings in the Diocese of Rochester by Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein. The editor of the *Official Catholic Directory* furnishes a bibliographical note upon the issues of that repertory from 1817 to the present time. A valuable report of Bishop Flaget on the diocese of Bardstown, made to Pope Pius VII. in 1815, is printed from the archives of the Propaganda. In editorial pages, a strong appeal is made for the awakening in the United States of a corporate Catholic historical conscience, with a view to more adequate treatment of Catholic American history and of cordial co-ordination of such work with that of other historical agencies in the United States.

Among the numerous articles and studies in the recent numbers of the *History Teacher's Magazine* are the following: the Study of State History, by C. S. Larzelere (September); American Colonial History in the High School, by A. E. McKinley (October); American Colonies and the British Empire, by W. T. Root; and the Paterson Plan for a Federal Constitution, by C. R. Lingley (November). In the December number, Professor Edward C. Page of the State Normal School at DeKalb, Illinois, gives an account of the museum of history attached to that institution; Professor James A. Woodburn sets forth Political Parties and Party Leaders as a subject for an historical course, and Professor Edgar Dawson treats of Answers in American History, meaning answers given to the questions of the College Board, as a means of judging the general level of work expected by this system of examinations.

In the first or January number of *The Military Historian and Economist* the title of Contre-Amiral Degouy's article, with which the number begins, will be "Hostile Submarine Action and the American Sea-

board". Otherwise the contents will be as announced in our last issue. It is gratifying to know that the future of the journal is assured for a considerable period.

Articles in the June number of the *Magazine of History* are: Closing War Scenes, by Rev. C. W. Backus, Old Roxbury Town, by Elizabeth M. Gosse, and a continuation of General Philip Reade's Massachusetts at Valley Forge; also a letter of Lincoln to Rev. James Lemen, March 2, 1857, and one of Benjamin Franklin to Dr. Price, March 18, 1785, both reprints.

Upon the model of the annual reports which in happier times Professor Cauchie published concerning the transactions of his historical seminary at Louvain, Professor Peter Guilday of the Catholic University of America begins the issue of *Reports* from his seminar in American church history. The first issue relates to work done by members during the academic year 1914-1915. Most significant are the reports, of several pages each, of Rev. Raymond Payne on the work of the Leopoldine Association in the United States, 1829-1861; of Rev. Daniel O'Connell on the Spanish Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies of the United States; and of Rev. Michael Grupa on the Jesuit Peter Skarga and the Polish Counter-Reformation, 1536-1612.

The volume of *Historisch-Politische Studien* (Vienna, St. Norbertus, 1915) by Professor Karl Hugelmann is made up largely of essays on the history of Austria in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A volume of *Studi di Storia e di Critica* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1915) has been dedicated to Professor Pio Carlo Falletti of the University of Bologna in commemoration of his forty years of teaching. The seventieth birthday of Professor Dietrich Schäfer of the University of Berlin has been recognized by a *Festschrift*, entitled *Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Jena, Fischer, 1915), compiled by his pupils.

A work of the highest importance to the history of ancient and medieval astronomy is M. Pierre Duhem's *Le Système du Monde: Histoire des Doctrines Cosmologiques, de Platon à Copernic* (Paris, A. Hermann, 1914, 2 vols., pp. 512, 522).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. von Gierke, *Ueber die Geschichte des Majoritäts princips* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 2); P. Gentile, *Sulla Possibilità d'una Storia Universale del Diritto* (Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, May); G. Prato, *L'Occupazione Militare nel Passato e nel Presente: Barbarie Antica e Civiltà Moderna* (La Riforma Sociale, August); W. F. Willcox, *The Expansion of Europe in Population* (American Economic Review, December).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque, 1911-1914*, I. (Revue Historique, September).

Volume II. of Leonard W. King's *History of Babylonia* (Chatto and Windus) closes with the Persian conquest.

Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions, by Dr. Albert T. Clay, constitutes vol. I. of the Yale Oriental series, *Babylonian Texts*. It is issued by the Yale University Press. In the same series, vol. II. of *Researches* by Edward T. Newell, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, is shortly to be issued. The Yale University Press has also issued George Dahl's *The Materials for the History of Dor*.

The series *Columbia University Oriental Studies* contains Professor Wallace B. Fleming's *History of Tyre*.

The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites, by Dr. Henry Schaeffer (Yale University Press) attempts a study of the laws and customs of the people of Arabia, Babylonia, and Israel. In one of the *Bulletins* of the University of Iowa (Studies in Sociology, Economics, Politics, and History, volume IV., no. 2, pp. 98) Mr. M. J. Lauré studies carefully *The Property Concepts of the Early Hebrews*.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton announce for early publication an *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land* by Professor George Adam Smith.

Some recent contributions to Greek history have been: F. Sartiaux, *Troie: la Guerre de Troie et les Origines Préhistoriques de la Question d'Orient* (Paris, Hachette, 1915); C. N. Rados, *Les Guerres Médiques: la Bataille de Salamine* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915); M. Romstedt, *Die Wirtschaftliche Organisation des Athenischen Reiches* (Weida, Thomas and Hubert, 1914, pp. 72).

Professor Ettore Pais has issued a first series of *Ricerche sulla Storia e sul Diritto Pubblico di Roma* (Rome, Loescher, 1915, pp. xii, 469). Five of the studies deal with the laws of the Twelve Tables.

Franz Leifer has made a careful study of the several officials of the Roman republic and of their powers in *Die Einheit des Gewaltgedankes im Römischen Staatsrecht: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Oeffentlichen Rechts* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1914), in which he seeks to prove that the Romans of the republic had a definite idea of the unity of the imperium.

Varese, *Ricerche di Storia Militare dell' Antichità* (Palermo, Reber, 1915) deals with Rome and Carthage in the first volume. P. Fraccaro has issued a volume of *Studi sull' Età dei Gracchi* (Città di Castello, Lapi, 1914). C. Lanzani has written *Mario e Silla, Storia della Democrazia Romana negli Anni 87-82 av. Cristo* (Catania, Battiato, 1914, pp. 386). *Die Feldzüge C. Julius Cäsar Octavianus in Illyrien in den Jahren 35-33 v. Chr.* (Vienna, Hölder, 1915) is by Veith.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Wiegers, *Die Entwicklung der Diluvialen Kunst mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Darstellung des*

Menschen (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI. 2); J. Joulin, *Les Âges Protohistoriques dans l'Europe Barbare* [conclusion] (Revue Archéologique, January, May); G. Blotz, *Les Lois de la Guerre dans l'Antiquité Grecque* (Revue de Paris, September 1); A. Stein, *Tacitus als Geschichtsquelle* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 6); S. Reinach, *Les Funérailles d'Alaric* (Revue Archéologique, January).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The Environment of Early Christianity, by Professor S. Angus of the University of Sydney (Scribner), though a small volume, provides a thoughtful consideration of the social, moral, and religious conditions of the Jew, the Greek, and the Roman at the beginning of the Christian era. The volume is one of the series entitled *Studies in Theology*.

The American Lectures on the History of Religions, given each year in various universities and cities, are this year being given by Principal J. Estlin Carpenter of Manchester College, Oxford, on the subject of "The Early Organization of the Christian Church".

L'Église Apostolique et les Juifs Philosophes jusqu'à Philon, by L. Bouillon, of which the second volume (Orthez, Faget, 1914, pp. xvi, 1050) contains *Documents et Démonstrations*, is intended to serve as a justification of Christian tradition and as an introduction to the New Testament.

F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock has published *Irenaeus of Lugdunum: a Study of his Teaching* (Cambridge, University Press, 1914, pp. 382).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The first volume of C. R. L. Fletcher's *The Making of Western Europe* (Dutton) covers the years 300 A. D. to 1000. The same period in a more restricted area is dealt with by Mr. H. B. Cotterill in *Medieval Italy during a Thousand Years, 305-1313* (Stokes), an excellent volume of the *Great Nations* series. Mr. Cotterill, in order to make the most of his space, presents historical summaries of leading events, then chapters in which the most important aspects are discussed.

The Letters of Sidonius, translated by R. M. Dalton (Oxford, Clarendon Press), give easy access to a famous picture of the life and habits of the Romans of the fifth century.

The third volume of L. Caetani's *Studi di Storia Orientale* contains *La Biografia di Maometto Profeta ed Uomo di Stato; il Principio del Califato; la Conquista d'Arabia* (Milan, Hoepli, 1914, pp. xix, 431).

T. H. Weir has recently published a revised edition of Sir William Muir's *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*.

Dr. A. J. Carlyle has completed vol. III. of *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West*, which is published by Messrs. Blackwood.

Dr. R. L. Poole, lecturer on diplomatic in the University of Oxford, has published, through the Cambridge University Press, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the Time of Innocent III.*

G. Schober has published a study of *Das Wahldekret vom Jahre 1059* (Breslau, 1914, pp. iv, 79), which regulated papal elections.

K. H. Schäfer has published a third volume of his *Deutsche Ritter und Edelknechte in Italien* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Amélineau, *La Conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes* [conclusion] (*Revue Historique*, September); Ephraim Emerton, *Fra Salimbene and the Franciscan Ideal* (*Harvard Theological Review*, October); M. Prou, *La Forêt en Angleterre et en France* (*Journal des Savants*, June, July, August); R. Leonhard, *Flurgemeinschaft und Feudalität* (*Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIX. 1); J. Flach, *Les Révendications Françaises de la Lorraine et de l'Alsace du XI^e au XVII^e Siècle* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, September).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: E. Mayer, *Histoire Militaire des Deux Empires* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, July).

The Library of Congress has published a *Catalogue of the John Boyd Thacher Collection of Incunabula* (pp. 329), compiled by Mr. Frederick W. Ashley. The collection is now at the Library.

A revised edition of Professor Edward M. Hulme's *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution and the Reformation* (Century Company, pp. 629) has appeared this fall. This edition contains a "prefatory note" explaining the genesis of the volume, and the debt which the author gladly acknowledges to Professor George L. Burr, whose *Outlines* served as the framework of this study. The fifty pages of appendix added to this edition contain useful genealogical tables, a list of the Holy Roman Emperors, a list of the popes, and an extended and critical bibliography (pp. 571-607). Various missprints of the first edition have been corrected and in a few cases the text has been slightly recast.

In the series of *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, S. Steinherz has edited the reports of the nuncio Delfino, 1564 (Vienna, Hölder, 1914) and J. Schweizer those of Antonio Puteo from Prag, 1587-1589 (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1915, pp. cxlvi, 630).

The Oxford University Press announces *The Evolution of Prussia: the Making of an Empire*, by J. A. R. Marriott and C. Grant Robertson, and *The Balkans and Turkey: the History and Development of the Balkan States and the Turkish Empire*, by Nevill Forbes, D. Nitrany, Arnold Toynbee, and others. These volumes are the first of a series of histories of the warring countries projected by this press.

H. Sieveking has contributed *Grundzüge der Neueren Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915) to the second volume of Meister's *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*.

An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from 1789 to 1914, prepared by C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew (Oxford University Press) contains 43 maps with historical text.

Commandant Maurice Weil has reprinted from the *Revue de Paris* his study *Cent-Jours*, a study of the diplomacy of the Waterloo campaign.

A volume of *Études Historiques et Stratégiques: la Solution des Enigmes de Waterloo* (Paris, Plon, 1915) has been written by E. Lenient.

Under the title *European Politics during the Decade before the War as described by Belgian Diplomats*, the Imperial German Foreign Office has issued, in a folio pamphlet of some 144 pages, with an introduction and some facsimiles, a selection from the reports of the Belgian representatives in Berlin, London, and Paris to the minister of foreign affairs in Brussels from 1905 to 1914. The documents are presented in their original French and in English translation. They form a volume of extraordinary interest, for it is rare that diplomatic reports so nearly contemporary are published, otherwise than after a selection made by friendly hands and for defensive purposes, while these are documents which the Germans found in the Brussels archives. They have also the merit of exhibiting Berlin, London, and Paris politics from the point of view of disinterested, and sometimes sagacious, observers.

W. W. Claridge, senior medical officer of the West African Medical Staff, is the author of a work in two volumes entitled *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (John Murray).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. H. Lybyer, *The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade* (English Historical Review, October); F. Brunot, *La Civilisation Française en Allemagne au XVII^e Siècle* (Revue de Paris, August 1); E. Karácson, *Die Pforte und Ungarn im Jahre 1788* (Ungarische Rundschau, IV. 1); W. M. Kozłowski, *Kosciusko et les Légions Polonaises en France 1798-1801* [conclusion] (Revue Historique, September); H. Welschinger, *Les Préliminaires d'Iéna* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, September); *Napoleons Kontinentalsperre und das England von Heute* (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, July); J. H. Rose, *Wellington dans la Campagne de Waterloo* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); A. Fournier, *Briefe vom Wiener Kongress: Prinz Anton Radziwill an seine Gemahlin Prinzessin Luise von Preussen* (Deutsche Rundschau, June, July); P. Bourée, *Une Mission Secrète en Allemagne, Mai-Juin 1859* (Revue de Paris, August 1); C. Pitollet, *Le "Fameux*

Raid" du Comte Zeppelin, Juillet, 1870 (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); A. Brückner, *Russland und Europa* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, VI. 1); P. Arminjon, *Le Soudan Égyptien* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1).

THE GREAT WAR

Lange and Berry have published two parts of a bibliography of the war, consisting mainly of English and American titles, which covers publications previous to March, 1915. About a thousand books are listed.

The firm of Berger-Levrault of Paris have published an *Atlas-Index de tous les Théâtres de la Guerre* in three octavo volumes. The first volume has 16 maps and 24 detail maps of the French and Belgian front, with an index of 8352 names; the second has 33 maps of the eastern front; and the third, 8 maps and 32 detail maps of Italy, the Balkans, and the Caucasus. These handy volumes sell at the modest price of three francs each.

In addition to the works mentioned in the last number, and their continuations, the following histories of the war have appeared: G. H. Perris, *The Campaign of 1914 in France and Belgium* (New York, Holt, 1915, pp. xxiii, 395); H. Belloc, *A General Sketch of the European War: the First Phase* (New York, Nelson, 1915, pp. 377); F. S. Burnell, *Australia versus Germany, the Story of the Taking of German New Guinea* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1915, pp. 254); C. H. Baer, *Der Völkerring: eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914* (vol. III., to January, 1915; Stuttgart, Hoffmann, 1915, pp. viii, 320); P. Dauzet, *Guerre de 1914, de Liège à la Marne* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1915, pp. 94); H. de Rothschild and L. G. Gourraigne, *La Grande Guerre d'après la Presse Parisienne, Recueil d'Articles* (Paris, Hachette, 1915, pp. 447); and P. Nothomb, *L'Yser, les Villes Saintes, la Victoire, la Bataille d'Été* (Paris, Perrin, 1915).

La Guerre Européenne, Avant-Propos Stratégiques, la Manoeuvre Morale, Front d'Occident, Août 1914-Mai 1915 (Paris, Payot, 1915) by Colonel F. Feyler, and *La Guerre de 1914, Notes au Jour le Jour par un Neutre* (Paris, Crès, 1915, 2 vols.) by Jean Debrit are the works of Swiss military writers.

The origins of the war are discussed in G. Wampach, *Le Dossier de la Guerre* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1915, 3 vols.); Yves Guyot, *Les Causes et les Conséquences de la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. 416); G. Somville, *Vers Liège: le Chemin du Crime, Août 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1915). R. Moulin has republished numerous articles in *La Guerre et les Neutres* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. ix, 375); and *Problèmes de Politique et Finances de Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1915) contains contributions by G. Jêze, C. Rist, L. Rolland, and J. Barthélemy.

Books by those who have been at the front are beginning to appear. *Behind the Scenes at the Front* (London, Chatto and Windus, 1915, pp. 240) is by George Adam, a correspondent of the *Times*, who visited the western front last winter. L. Colin, *Les Barbares à la Trouée des Vosges, 1914-1915, Récits des Témoins* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915, pp. xvi, 355); M. Gauchez, *De la Meuse à l'Yser, ce que j'ai Vu* (Paris, Fayard, 1915, pp. 254); M. Dupont, *En Campagne, 1914-1915, Impressions d'un Officier de Légère* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. iii, 321); and B. Descubes, *Mon Carnet d'Éclaircur, Août-Novembre, 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1915) recite experiences in the French army. German experiences on the eastern front are recorded by F. Wertheimer, *Im Polnischen Winterfeldzug mit der Armee Mackensen* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915, pp. 194); by P. Lindenberg, *Gegen die Russen mit der Armee Hindenburgs* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1914) and *Beim Armee-Oberkommando Hindenburgs: ein Neues Kriegsbuch* (Stuttgart, Bonz, 1915, pp. 192); and Paul Schweder, "Kriegsberichterstatter", *Im Kaiserlichen Hauptquartier, Deutsche Kriegsbriege von der Donau zur Maas* (Leipzig, Hesse and Becker, 1915, pp. 320).

In *The Log of a Noncombatant* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915, pp. 169), Horace Green has put into connected form his personal experiences as correspondent for the New York *Evening Post* and the Boston *Journal* during the first year of the present war. Vivid accounts are given of conditions and events noted by the observant reporter in his wanderings from Ghent to Brussels, to Aix-la-Chapelle by way of Louvain and Liège, to the Hague, to Berlin, and through rural Germany. The second attack on Termonde and the bombardment and capture of Antwerp are the main military actions described. There is an appendix in which evidence of German atrocities is sifted. The author's verdict is that the Germans are not guilty in the manner and form in which they stand indicted.

Mr. Frederick Palmer's *My Year of the Great War* (Dodd, Mead, and Co.) has very high merit among books of its class, and the advantages arising from his position as the sole accredited American correspondent with the British army.

The relations of the Socialists to the war are examined in a well-documented volume by Omer Boulanger, entitled *L'Internationale Socialiste a Vécu* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1915). In *Le Groupe Socialiste du Reichstag et la Déclaration de Guerre* (Paris, Colin, 1915, pp. 109) P. G. La Chesnais attacks the disloyalty of the German socialists to their principles.

In the series called *International Conciliation*, no. 95 continues the documents regarding the European war by printing official correspondence between the United States and Great Britain, between August 5, 1914, and July 31, 1915, on the Declaration of London, on contraband of war and restraints upon commerce, and on the case of the *Wilhelmina*.

The World Peace Foundation has begun the issue of a series of pamphlets containing the official documents concerning neutral rights and freedom of commerce and navigation which have passed between this country and belligerent nations since August 1, 1914.

The *Second Belgian Gray Book*, published in French in Paris by Hachette, is printed less completely in English by the British government. This English edition embraces, among other documents relating to the war, a section relating to the German accusation that Belgium had before the war concluded a military understanding with Great Britain. The official Belgian edition contains also the protests addressed by the Belgian government to the governments of Germany and Austro-Hungary against violations of the laws of war and of the Hague Convention.

Undoubtedly one of the war books of permanent interest is *L'Allemagne avant la Guerre: les Causes et les Responsabilités* (Paris, Van Oest, 1915) by Baron Beyens, who was the Belgian ambassador in Berlin on the eve of the war. Numerous photographs of documents and other pertinent illustrations appear in *La Belgique et l'Allemagne, Textes et Documents* (London, Harrison, 1915, pp. iv, 128) by H. Davignon. Waxweiler's presentation of the case for Belgium has been answered in a pamphlet by Dr. R. Grasshoff entitled *Belgiens Schuld* (Berlin, Reimer, 1915, pp. 104). Several officers of the Belgian ministry of war have compiled *La Campagne de l'Armée Belge, 31 Juillet 1914-1 Janvier 1915, d'après les Documents Officiels* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915). A citizen of Louvain who remained in the city through the early months of German occupation, Hervé de Gruben, has written *Les Allemands à Louvain, Souvenirs d'un Témoin* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. iii, 157).

English discussions of the war and its problems include Arnold Toynbee, *Nationality and the War* (London, Dent, 1915, pp. x, 522); J. M'Cabe, *The Soul of Europe: a Character Study of the Militant Nations* (London, Unwin, 1915, pp. vi, 407); Frederic Harrison, *The German Peril: Forecasts, 1864-1914; Realities, 1915; Hopes, 191-* (London, Unwin, 1915, pp. 300), in which he claims to be "the oldest and most persistent of those politicians who warned our countrymen of what they had to meet". H. P. Okie, *America and the German Peril* (London, Heinemann, 1915, pp. 198) is a collection of miscellaneous war articles of which only the last relates to the title subject.

The French war ministry has issued a *Recueil des Documents insérés au Bulletin Officiel et concernant spécialement la Période des Hostilités du 2 Août 1914 au 30 Juin 1915* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1915, pp. 690). The sixth volume of the series *Guerre de 1914, Documents Officielles, Textes Législatifs et Réglementaires* (Paris, Dalloz, 1915) contains documents to October 15, 1915.

Arras sous les Obus (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915) is by Abbé E. Foulon, professor in the Institution Saint-Joseph at Arras, and is illustrated with a hundred photographs. A similar work with photographs and documents has been compiled under the auspices of the French ministerial bureau of fine arts relating to Reims, Arras, Senlis, Louvain, Soissons, and other cities under the title *Les Allemands Destructeurs de Cathédrales et de Trésors du Passé* (Paris, Hachette, 1915, pp. 88). The ministry of foreign affairs has issued a similar volume on *Les Violations des Lois de la Guerre par l'Allemagne* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp. 208) containing 72 photographs of documents. These are supplemented by *Le Livre Rouge: les Atrocités Allemandes en France, Rapport Officiel* (Paris, Bibliothèque des Ouvrages Documentaires, 1915, pp. 62), and *Rapports et Procès-Verbaux d'Enquête de la Commission instituée en vue de constater les Crimes commis par l'Ennemi en Violation du Droit des Gens* (2 parts, Paris, Hachette, 1915).

Among the more thorough and substantial German discussions of war questions may be noted A. Hettner, *Englands Weltherrschaft und der Krieg* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915, pp. v, 269); Helmolt, *Die Geheime Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1915); G. F. Steffen, *Weltkrieg und Imperialismus: Sozialpsychologische Dokumente und Beobachtungen vom Weltkrieg, 1914-1915* (Jena, Diederichs, 1915, pp. 255); K. Quenzel, *Wir "Barbaren": Anekdoten und Begebenheiten aus dem Weltkriege, mit Beiträgen von R. Eucken und Ernst Freiherr von Wolzogen* (Leipzig, Hesse and Becker, 1915, pp. 288); E. Müller, *Der Weltkrieg und das Völkerrecht: eine Anklage gegen die Kriegführung des Dreiverbandes* (Berlin, Reimer, 1915, pp. v, 378); and *Deutschland und der Weltkrieg* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915, pp. 686) which contains contributions by O. Hintze, F. Meinecke, H. Oncken, H. Schumacher, and others.

Vice-Admiral H. Kirchhoff has collected much interesting material in *Der Seekrieg, 1914-1915: Schiffspost- und Feldpostbriefe sowie andere Berichte von Mitkämpfern und Augenzeugen* (Leipzig, Hesse and Becker, 1915, pp. 319).

Recent additions to the series *Quaderni della Guerra* are *Diario della Guerra d'Italia*, containing official despatches from the front; also *La Triplice Alleanza dalle Origini alla Denunzia, 1882-1915*, by A. Italo Sullioti (Milan, Treves, 1915).

The relations of Italy to the war are discussed in S. Barzilai, *Dalla Triplice Alleanza al Conflitto Europeo* (Rome, Tip. Ed. Nazionale, 1915); H. Welschinger, *La Mission du Prince de Bülow à Rome, Décembre 1914-Mai 1915* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915); J. Destrée, *En Italie avant la Guerre, 1914-1915* (Paris, Van Oest, 1915, pp. 200). G. E. Curàtulo, *Francia e Italia, Pagine di Storia, 1849-1914* (Turin, Bocca, 1915, pp. viii, 238) emphasizes the unfriendly rather than the friendly relations and is apparently a work of propaganda rather than of scholarship.

Russia and the Great War (London, Unwin, 1915, pp. 357) is a translation by B. Miall of the work of G. Alexinsky. Some elements of the Russian problem are presented from the German side in M. Friederichsen, *Die Grenzmarken des Europäischen Russlands, ihre Geographische Eigenart und ihre Bedeutung für den Weltkrieg* (Hamburg, Friederichsen, 1915, pp. 148).

The Turkish and Balkan phases of the war and its origins may be studied in H. von Bülow, *Deutschland, Oesterreich-Ungarn, und die Balkanstaaten* (Hamburg, Der Süd-West-Verlag, 1914, pp. 166); E. Jäckh, *Der Aufsteigende Halbmond: auf dem Weg zum Deutsch-Türkischen Bündnis* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915, pp. 247); *La Guerre et la Turquie* (Paris, Alcan, 1915); G. Domergue, *La Guerre en Orient, aux Dardanelles, et dans les Balkans* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); and E. Edwards, *Journal d'un Habitant de Constantinople, 1914-1915* (Paris, Plon, 1915).

Other books dealing with the Balkan situation are *The Politics of the Balkan League*, by M. Gueshoff, and *Eleftherios Venizelos: his Life and Work*, by Dr. C. Kerofilas (John Murray), translated by Beatrice Barstow.

India and the War, a collection of proclamations, speeches, and extracts from the Indian press, contains an introduction by Lord Sydenham of Combe (till lately Sir George Sydenham Clarke), on British rule in India. The volume, which is published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton (London), is chiefly distinguished by its illustrations, 32 in number.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Wampach, *Le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg et l'Invasion Allemande* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, August); E. Bernstein, *L'Internationale Ouvrière et la Guerre* (*Revue Politique Internationale*, May); P. Jacobs, *Der Englische Handelskrieg gegen Deutschland: ein Handelspolitische Studie* (*Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIX. 1); E. von Salzmänn, *Im Weltkriege von Südchile zur Front* (*Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte*, July); T. Rocholl, *Kriegsbriefe eines Malers, Neue Folge* (*ibid.*, June); *Lettres d'un Soldat* (*Revue de Paris*, August 1, 15); J. E. Blanche, *Cahiers d'un Artiste, 1914-1915*, I, II. (*ibid.*, August 15, September 1); P. Nothomb, *La Bataille de l'Yser* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 15); P. Nothomb, *L'Yser, la Bataille de l'Été* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, October 16); *Aux Dardanelles, Février-Mars 1915, l'Attaque des Détroits, Récit d'un Témoin* (*Revue de Paris*, October 15); P. P. de Sokolovitch, *Le Problème Italo-Slave dans la Guerre Actuelle* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, October 9).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

A work of substantial value to historical students is Mr. E. A. Fry's *Almanacs for Students of English History* (London, Phillimore), which, in addition to thirty-five almanacs, contains a "Roman and Church Calendar"; an alphabetical list of saints' days; a list of popes; tables of law terms, 1264-1830; and identification of regnal years.

From the sixth volume of the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, its publisher, the Oxford University Press, publishes separately a paper by Mr. Arthur F. Leach on Some Results of Research in the History of Education in England with suggestions for its Continuance and Extension, learned and pungently expressed.

The *Bamff Charters, 1232-1703*, edited by Sir James Ramsay (Oxford University Press), proves to be a collection important to Scottish history and edited with much insight and knowledge.

The most recent volume of the *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* contains two monographs, A. E. Levett and A. Ballard's "Some Effects of the Black Death", and R. Lennard's "Rural Northamptonshire".

L. Hennebicq, *Genèse de l'Impérialisme Anglais* (Paris, Alcan, 1915) is a survey of English foreign and colonial policy from the Spanish war of Elizabeth to the time of Disraeli.

Royalist Father and Roundhead Son, by the Countess of Denbigh (London, Methuen), consists of biographies of the first and second Earls of Denbigh, 1600-1675, accompanied by many interesting letters; but the most engaging figure in this admirable book is Susan Villiers, Buckingham's sister, wife and widow of the first Earl of Denbigh, and mother of the second.

Mr. John Murray announces *Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle*, by Estelle Frances Ward.

Oxford Historical and Literary Studies is soon to include a volume on *Keigwin's Rebellion (1682-1684)* by Ray and Oliver Strachey. The rebellion named was an incident of the early history of the English occupation of Bombay.

The volume on *War Medals and their History* (London, Stanley Paul and Company, 1915, pp. xvii, 407) by W. A. Steward contains 258 illustrations and relates solely to England.

Volume III. of *A Picture Book of English History*, compiled by Mr. S. C. Roberts, dealing with the years 1688 to 1910, is now being prepared for issue at the Cambridge University Press.

The Life of the Duke of Marlborough by Mr. Edward Thomas (Chapman and Hall) is a sympathetic study both of the soldier and of the man.

Mr. Alfred W. Rowden is the author of a volume entitled *The Primates of the Four Georges*, announced by Mr. John Murray. It contains the biographies of the archbishops of Canterbury from Wake to Manners Sutton.

The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton (1734-1770), is announced by the Oxford University Press. The volume contains a considerable number of hitherto unpublished letters.

A biography of considerable interest is *The Life of Thomas Pitt* by Sir Cornelius Neale Dalton (Cambridge University Press). The study, based in part on the *Fortescue Papers* published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, presents an excellent picture of Pitt as a figure in the history of the period, and also as a man.

Dr. W. L. Davidson has written for the *Home University Library* a volume on *Political Thought in England: the Utilitarians from Bentham to J. S. Mill*.

Monsignor Bernard Ward follows up his Catholic history from the time of Emancipation by two volumes of *The Story of the English Catholics down to the Re-establishment of their Hierarchy in 1850* (Longmans, pp. xx, 288; viii, 320) including an outline of the Oxford Movement and the relation of the more conservative English Catholics to it.

Somewhat after the manner of Mr. Justin McCarthy's *Portraits of the Sixties*, the Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell writes *Portraits of the Seventies*, the portraits including, among others, Gladstone, Disraeli, John Bright, and Lord Salisbury.

Mr. Gilbert Murray's pamphlet *The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey, 1906-1915* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, p. 127) is, of course, a defense, but has value for the historian as an intelligent survey of an important period in English diplomatic history.

Makers of the Kirk: a History of the Church of Scotland, by T. Ratcliffe Barnett, emphasizes, as its title implies, the lives of those figures important to the Scottish church.

Messrs. Blackwood announce vol. V. of *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, by John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay.

The F. A. Stokes Company has recently published *Wales: her Origins, Struggles, and Later History, Institutions and Manners*, by Mr. Gilbert Stone, with an introduction by Mr. Ellis J. Griffith. The chief contribution of the study is in his treatment of prehistoric Wales; the last 500 years of Welsh history the author dismisses in one short chapter.

The Library Committee of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, in its important publication of the *Historical Records of Australia*, first series, *Governor's Despatches to and from England*, has reached 1804 in the fourth volume, which has just appeared (Sydney, 1915).

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, January 1, 1679, to August 31, 1680, ed. F. H. Blackburne Daniell; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, third series, vol. VII., 1681-1682, ed. P. Hume Brown.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Keith, *The Bronze Age Invaders of Britain* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January); F. J. Zwierlein, *The Delay in the Divorce Trial of Henry VIII. and Katherine of Aragon* (Ecclesiastical Review, November); F. Keutgen, *Die Entstehung des Britischen Weltreiches* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, July); C. C. Crawford, *Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the Revolution of 1689* (English Historical Review, October); C. K. Webster, *Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies*, II. (*ibid.*); T. H. Boggs, *The Trend within the British Empire* (American Political Science Review, November); J. H. Round, *Recent Peerage Cases* (Quarterly Review, July); R. S. Rait, *Parliamentary Representation in Scotland*, V. *The Lords of the Articles* (Scottish Historical Review, October).

FRANCE

R. Koebner is the author of a life of *Venantius Fortunatus* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915), the sixth-century bishop of Poitiers and Latin poet.

The Direction des Archives Nationales has published M. Coulon, *Inventaires des Sceaux des Provinces de France* (tome I., *Bourgogne*, Paris, Leroux, 1915); and P. Lauer and C. Samaran, *Les Diplômes Mérovingiens des Archives Nationales* (*ibid.*).

The *Recueil des Actes de Louis IV., Roi de France*, 936-954 (Paris, Klincksieck, 1914, pp. lxxv, 154), edited by P. Lauer, is published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in the series *Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France*.

F. B. Willett's *Craft-Guilds of the Thirteenth Century in Paris*, is issued as *Bulletin* no. 17 of the departments of history and political and economic science in Queen's University, Kingston.

Professor A. Gazier has published numerous letters in *Jeanne de Chantal et Angélique Arnauld d'après leur Correspondance, 1620-1641: Étude Historique et Critique* (Paris, Champion, 1915, pp. 204). H. Coville has used documents from the Vatican and other archives in his *Étude sur Mazarin et ses Démêlés avec le Pape Innocent X., 1644-1648* (*ibid.*, 1914, pp. vii, 197), in which he exhibits Mazarin's opposition to the election of Innocent X. and the resulting situations. W. Heinecker, *Die Persönlichkeit Ludwigs XIV.* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915, pp. 119) is a mosaic of memoir materials rather than a critical or psychological study. G. A. Prevost has edited *Notes du Premier Président Pellot sur la Normandie: Clergé, Gentilshommes, et Terres Principales, Officiers de Justice, 1670-1683* (Paris, Picard, 1915, pp. xxxiv, 400).

Several studies in the diplomatic history of France in the eighteenth century are among the recent publications. J. Souchon has edited the *Correspondance Diplomatique du Comte de Montaigu, Ambassadeur à Venise, 1743-1749* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. lxx, 605). A. de Curzon has given an account of *L'Ambassade du Comte des Alleurs à Constantinople*

(Paris, Fischbacher, 1914, pp. 68) which lasted from 1747 to 1754. *Les Rapports de la France et de l'Espagne après le Pacte de Famille jusqu'à la Fin du Ministère du Duc de Choiseul* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. xv, 238) are described by L. Blart. F. Olmo has written *La Rivoluzione Francese nelle Relazioni Diplomatiche di un Ministro Piemontese a Roma, 1792-1796* (Rome, Soc. Ed. Dante Alighieri, 1915, pp. 207).

Materials in the departmental archives have been used by A. Puis in the preparation of *Les Lettres de Cachet à Toulouse au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. 333).

A series of valuable lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1914, by Professor Spenser Wilkinson, has now been published by the Oxford University Press under the title *The French Army before Napoleon*.

Madame de Staël et Monsieur Necker: d'après leur Correspondance Inédite, by the Comte d'Haussonville (Paris, *Revue des Deux Mondes*), contains a number of interesting letters.

Nos. 1 and 2 of the *Bulletin d'Histoire Économique de la Révolution* for 1913, published by the Commission on the Economic Life of the Revolution, have lately appeared. No. 1 contains an interesting body of documents for the student of industrial history, in the minutes of the Bureau de Consultation des Arts et Métiers, 1791-1796, and a contemporary official report on the harvest of 1792. No. 2, beside copious minutes of the deliberations of the commission, contains a valuable contribution on the statistics collected in 1790 by the Comité de Mendicité and a variety of briefer articles of interest to the economic history of the period.

The third volume of *Notices, Inventaires, et Documents*, published by the Comité de Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Section d'Histoire Moderne, is *L'Instruction Primaire en France aux XVIII^e et XIX^e Siècles, Documents d'Histoire Locale* (Paris, Rieder, 1914, pp. 210), edited by Decap, La Martinière, and Bideau.

Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens, Orderly Officer at Longwood, St. Helena, February, 1820-November, 1823, edited by Sir Lees Knowles, is announced by the John Lane Company.

A series of *Documents Inédits pour l'Histoire Contemporaine de la Savoie* has been initiated with a volume of *Extraits des Procès-Verbaux de l'Administration du Département du Mont-Blanc sous la Convention, Octobre 1793-Fructidor, An III*. (Chambéry, Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1915, pp. 581); P. Rambaud has completed the second volume of *L'Assistance Publique à Poitiers jusqu'à l'An V*. (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. 589); J. H. König has issued a volume on *Die Katholischen Körperschaften des Unterelsasses vor und während der Grossen Revolution* (Strassburg, Heitz, 1915). The fourth volume of G. Fabry, *Campagne de l'Armée*

d'Italie, 1796-1797 (Paris, Dorbon, 1914, pp. 266) has appeared, dealing with the events from Loano to Montenotte.

L'Empire Libéral: la Fin (Paris, Garnier, 1915) was left incomplete by the late E. Ollivier and has been published with little attempt to give it finished form. Fortunately the chapters on Sedan and the Revolution of September 4 are substantially complete. The present war has called forth several histories of the war of 1870-1871, of which the *Histoire de l'Invasion Allemande en 1870-1871* (Paris, Perrin, 1915, pp. xxxvi, 371) by General F. Canonge may be mentioned. Dr. J. Figard has published a monograph on the *Lendemain Financiers d'une Guerre*, Léon Say, *Ministre des Finances après 1870-1871* (Paris, Alcan, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Thompson, *The Commerce of France in the Ninth Century* (Journal of Political Economy, November); V. Carrière, *Les Débuts de l'Ordre du Temple en France* (Le Moyen Âge, December, 1914); E. Armstrong, *The Italian Wars of Henry II.* (English Historical Review, October); A. Aulard, *Patrie, Patriotisme, au Début de la Révolution Française*, I. (La Révolution Française, August); E. Lintilhac, *La Défense Posthume de Vergniaud d'après son Manuscrit* (*ibid.*); J. P. Picqué [deputy from the Hautes-Pyrénées to the Convention], *Souvenirs Inédits*, I. (Revue Historique de la Révolution et de l'Empire, January); C. Ballot, *Les Banques d'Émission sous le Consulat* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); R. Lévy, *La Disette au Havre en 1812* (*ibid.*, July); J. K. Paulding, *An Interview with Napoleon's Brother* (Harper's Monthly, November); G. Weill, *L'Anticléricalisme sous le Second Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); A. Beaunier, *L'Historien de l'Empire Libéral* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); E. Eichthal, *Après Douze Mois de Guerre, Coup d'Oeil sur la Situation Économique en France* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August 15); X., *Troupes Coloniales: les Contingents Créoles* (Revue de Paris, September 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

P. Egidi has written *La Colonia Saracena di Lucera e la sua Distruzione* (Naples, Pierro, 1915), and has edited the second volume of *Necrologie e Libri Affini della Provincia Romana* (Rome, Tip. del Senato, 1915).

Die Ordensregeln des Heiligen Franz von Assisi und die Ursprüngliche Verfassung des Minoritenordens (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915) by Kybal; and *Saint Clare of Assisi: her Life and Legislation* (London, Dent, 1914, pp. 320) by Ernest Smith are recent contributions to Franciscan history.

W. von Hoffmann has compiled two volumes of *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Kurialen Behörden vom Schisma bis zur Reformation* (Rome, Loescher, 1915).

Some phases of the Enlightened Despotism in Italy are shown in H. Büchi, *Finanzen und Finanzpolitik Toskanas im Zeitalter der Aufklärung, 1737-1790, im Rahmen der Wirtschaftspolitik* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915); and in U. Benassi, *Guglielmo du Tillot, un Ministro Riformatore del Secolo XVIII.*, the first part of which appears in volume XV. of the *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Parmensi* (Parma, 1915, pp. 121).

The Napoleonic period in Italy has furnished the subjects for the following monographs: M. d'Ercole, *Un Biennio di Storia Senese, 1799-1800* (Siena, Giuntini and Bentivoglio, 1914, pp. 289); G. Rizzardo, *Il Patriarcato di Venezia durante il Regno Napoleonico, 1806-1814* (Venice, Ferrari, 1914, pp. 119); R. Palmarocchi, *Le Riforme di Gioacchino Murat nel Primo Anno di Regno* (Rome, Loescher, 1914, pp. 47); and *Gli Italiani in Germania nel 1813* (Città di Castello, Unione Arti Grafiche, 1914).

The Patrizi Memoirs: a Roman Family under Napoleon, 1796-1815, by the Marchesa Maddalena Patrizi, translated by Mrs. Hugh Fraser, is made up of letters and diaries, with some connecting and explanatory narrative.

Among recent biographical volumes relating to the period of the Risorgimento are L. Messedaglia, *La Giovinezza di un Dittatore, Luigi Carlo Farini, Medico* (Milan, Albrighi, Segati and Company, 1914, pp. lxii, 552); Passamonti, *Il Giornalismo Giobertiano in Torino nel 1847-1848* (*ibid.*, 1915); G. Giusti, *Memorie Inedite, 1845-1849* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. lxiv, 318), edited by F. Martini; N. Fabrizi, *Lettere Inedite, 1858-1859* (Molfetta, Conte, 1914, pp. 81), edited by V. Azzariti; and Castellini, *Crispi* (Florence, Barbèra, 1915). Other monographs on the Risorgimento are A. Mauriel, *L'Opera della Sicilia per la Cessazione del Potere Temporale e la Liberazione di Roma e di Venezia all'Inizio del Regno d'Italia* (Palermo, Priulla, 1914, pp. 400); E. Gamerra, *L'Eloquenza in Toscana fra il 1847 e il 1849* (Rome, Soc. Ed. Dante Alighieri, 1914, pp. 209); G. Gonni, *La Campagna Adriatica del 1848-1849 e la Famiglia Mameli* (Pistoia, Tip. Cooperativa, 1915, pp. 108); and C. Fogli, *Comacchio nel Risorgimento Italiano* (Prato, Nutini, 1915, pp. 170).

From the irredentist literature called forth by the present struggle of Italy with Austria, the following may be cited as among the more important volumes: G. Cassi, *Il Mare Adriatico, sua Funzione attraverso i Tempi* (Milan, Hoepli, 1915, pp. 532); A. Tamaro, *L'Adriatico, Golfo d'Italia; l'Italianità di Trieste* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. vii, 252); F. Caburi, *L'Austria e l'Italia* (*ibid.*, 1915, pp. xi, 166); P. Rohrer, *Als Venedig noch Oesterreichisch War* (Stuttgart, 1914); V. Gayda, *L'Italia d'oltre Confine, le Provincie Italiane d'Austria* (Turin, Bocca, 1914, pp. xix, 490); G. Prezzolini, *La Dalmazia* (Florence, Voce, 1915, pp. 74); G. Silvestri, *Terre Irredente* (Mantua, Mondovi, 1915, pp. viii, 141);

and T. Sillani, *Lembi di Patria* (Milan, Alfieri and Lacroix, 1915, pp. 185).

Professor Charles Diehl has written an excellent survey of the political and economic history of Venice, *Une République Patricienne, Venise* (Paris, Flammarion, 1915, pp. viii, 316), which is very timely for its exposition of the Italian activities in the Adriatic and the Levant in the Middle Ages. V. Bellemo has written a volume on *Questioni di Storia Veneziana* (Venice, Istituto Veneto di Arti Grafiche, 1914, pp. 254); and B. Zanazzo, on *L'Arte della Lana in Vicenza* (Venice, 1914). G. Monticcolo and E. Besta have edited the third volume of *I Capitolari delle Arti Veneziane sottoposte alla Giustizia e poi alla Giustizia Vecchia, dalle Origini al 1330* (Rome, Tip. del Senato, 1915); and L. Simeoni, *Gli Antichi Statuti delle Arti Veronesi secondo la Revisione Scaligera del 1319* (Venice, Tip. Emiliana, 1915).

The bicentenary of the coronation of Victor Amadeus II. as king of Sicily has been marked by the publication of a half-dozen monographs on his career under the auspices of the city of Turin, which are reviewed by L. Usseglio in the *Rivista Storica Italiana*, October, 1915, pp. 432-442.

T. Rossi and F. Gabotto treat the period prior to 1280 in the first volume of their *Storia di Torino* (Turin, Baravalle and Falconieri, 1914, pp. viii, 410); and F. Cognasso has edited a volume of *Documenti Inediti e Sparsi sulla Storia di Torino* (*ibid.*, 1914, pp. viii, 405).

M. Volpe has written a centenary work on *I Gesuiti nel Napoletano dopo il 1815* (Naples, D'Auria, 1914-1915, 2 vols., pp. xviii, 305; xv, 417), and A. Leanza, on *I Gesuiti in Sicilia nel Secolo XIX.* (Palermo, Lugaro, 1914, pp. 324).

The ministry of the colonies has published a *Bibliografia della Libia* compiled by U. Ceccherini of the National Library at Turin, in continuation of the work of Minutilli, published in 1903.

The Library of Congress has issued, and the Superintendent of Documents at Washington can supply, a *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Spain*, by Thomas W. Palmer, jr. (pp. 174).

In 1912 Senhor Joaquim Bensaude published an important work, entitled *L'Astronomie Nautique au Portugal à l'Époque des Grandes Découvertes* (Bern, Max Drechsel), in which he produced much evidence to show that Portugal was the pioneer in modern nautical astronomy, as well as in maritime enterprise, and refuted the assertion that the *Ephémérides* of Regiomontanus played any important part in solving the nautical problems of the Portuguese. Now, at the expense of the Portuguese government, he is bringing out a *Collection de Documents* (Munich, Kuhn; Bern, Drechsel) in seven volumes, of which six are reproductions in facsimile of early Portuguese works dealing with nautical astronomy. Several of the volumes have already been issued. The

titles are as follows: *Regimento do Estrolabio: Tratado da Spera*, from a unique and early copy at Munich; *Tratado da Spera: Regimento do Astrolabio*, Evora copy; *Almanach Perpetuum*, by Abraham Zacuto; *Tratado del Esphera y del Arte del Marcar: con el Regimiento de las Alturas*, by Francisco Faleiro; *Reportorio dos Tempos*, by Valentim Fernandes. The seventh volume will contain the introductions to volumes 2 to 6, and will constitute the second volume of Senhor Bensaude's above-mentioned work on Portuguese nautical astronomy.

B. Romano has written a history of *L'Expulsione dei Gesuiti dal Portogallo, con Documenti dell' Archivio Vaticano* (Città di Castello, Lapi, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Eduard Meyer, *Italien und die Entstehung der Italischen Nation im Altertum* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, June); R. Davidsohn, *Vom Mittelalter zu Unseren Tagen* (ibid.); P. Fedele, *La Coscienza della Nazionalità in Italia nel Medio Evo* (Nuova Antologia, October 16); C. Arnò, *L'Idea della Guerra contro Toscana e Roma accolta e voluta dal Gioberti* (ibid., August 1); H. N. Gay, *Difficoltà, Glorie, ed Errori della Campagna del 1848, da Lettere Inedite del Generale Franzini* (ibid., September 1); C. Pellegrini, *Edgar Quinet e l'Italia* (ibid., August 16); "Un Bresciano", *L'Intervento e le Pressioni dell'Austria nella Crisi Ministeriale del 1893* (ibid., October 16); J. Bainville, *Le Mois Historique de l'Italie, Mai 1915* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); G. Desdevises du Dezert, *Saint Ignace de Loyola* (Revue Hispanique, June); L. Sanchez Costa, *La Peninsula á Principios del Siglo XVII*. [description, city by city] (ibid., August).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Chapters in the history of the Church in medieval Germany are narrated in Sellin, *Burchard II., Bischof von Halberstadt, 1060-1088* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915); B. Wosasek, *Der Heilige Norbert, Stifter des Prämonstratenser-Ordens und Erzbischof von Magdeburg* (Vienna, Eichinger, 1914, pp. 318); and F. M. Steele, *The Life and Visions of St. Hildegarde* (London, Heath, Cranton, 1914, pp. 260).

Dr. M. Schwann has published three volumes on *Ludolf Camphausen* (Essen, Baedeker, 1915) in the *Veröffentlichungen des Archivs für Rheinisch-Westfälische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, setting forth his services in the development of Rhenish Prussia.

Of the ten-volume edition of the *Works of Martin Luther* being published by the A. J. Holman Company (Philadelphia), vol. II. has now been issued.

The Baden Historical Commission has issued a sixth volume, containing supplementary materials, of the *Politische Correspondenz Karl Friedrichs von Baden, 1783-1806*, ed. K. Obser (Heidelberg, Winter, 1915, pp. vi, 379).

B. Ihringer has edited the *Reden gegen Napoleon* (Munich, Müller, 1915) of Görres.

J. Bachem has published a small volume *Zur Jahrhundertfeier der Vereinigung der Rheinlande mit Preussen* (Cologne, Bachem, 1915). The centenary of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach is commemorated by H. Freiherr von Egloffstein, *Carl August auf dem Wiener Kongress* (Jena, Fischer, 1915, pp. x, 199).

G. Gaillard, *Culture et Kultur* (Paris, Reinwald and Schleicher, 1915, pp. 101) contains five studies of German leaders of thought. C. Andler has published, with interesting comments, texts from Dietrich von Bülow, Arndt, List, Jahn, Moltke, Bismarck, Treitschke, and others in *Les Origines du Pangermanisme, 1800-1888* (Paris, Conard, 1915); J. de Dampierre has collected much similar material in *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens d'après les Sources Allemandes et les Archives du Gouvernement Français* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915). Professor M. Milliod of Lausanne is the author of *La Caste Dominante Allemande, sa Formation, son Rôle* (Paris, Tenin, 1915).

The career and influence of List have been studied recently in K. Goeser, *Der Junge Friedrich List: ein Schwäbischer Politiker* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915, pp. ix, 134); F. Borckenhagen, *National- und Handelspolitische Bestrebungen in Deutschland, 1815-1827, und die Anfänge Friedrich Lists* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1915); and K. Kumpmann, *Friedrich List als Prophet des Neuen Deutschland* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1915).

Vor 50 Jahren: Briefwechsel zwischen Dr. Karl Lorentzen und den Führern der Augustenburgischen Partei, 1863-1866 (Leipzig, Haessel, 1915) has been edited by Kupke. E. Sieper has edited the *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin, Reimer, 1914, pp. vi, 420) of Hermann Hueffer, which are interesting for his service in the Prussian Landtag in the sixties, for the war of 1870-1871, and for the Old Catholic movement. H. Hofmann has issued the third volume completing *Fürst Bismarck, 1890-1898* (Stuttgart, Union, 1915). *The Soul of Germany: a Twelve Years' Study of the People from Within, 1902-1914* (London, Hutchinson, 1915, pp. xv, 352), is by Thomas F. A. Smith, who was a lecturer in the University of Erlangen.

Two additional volumes dealing with the life and character of the German emperor are *The Public and Private Life of Kaiser Wilhelm II.* (London, Eveleigh Nash), and *The Psychology of the Kaiser* by Dr. Morton Prince (T. Fisher Unwin).

In the *Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum*, A. Veress has edited the first volume of *Acta et Epistolae Relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia* (Vienna, Hölder, 1915), which covers the years 1468-1540.

The vexed questions of the economic relations within the Dual Monarchy have received exhaustive treatment in *Zolltrennung und Zolleinheit: die Geschichte der Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Zwischen-Zoll-Linie* (Vienna, Manz, 1915, pp. 415), by Dr. Rudolf Sieghart.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Hampe, *Die Pfälzer Lande in der Stauferzeit* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 1); A. E. Harvey, *Economic Self-Interest in the German Anti-Clericalism of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Am. Journal of Theology, October); W. Sohm, *Die Soziallehren Melanchthons* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 1); E. Müsebeck, *Die Deutsche Burschenschaft: ein Gedenkblatt zu ihrem Hundertsten Gründungstag* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, June); H. von Langermann, *Die Anfänge der Deutschen Flotte im Jahre 1848* (Deutsche Rundschau, August); Erich Marcks, *Bismarck und der Deutsche Geist* (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, July); E. Daudet, *Les Dernières Années de la Dictature de Bismarck, Notes et Souvenirs, 1887-1890* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1, October 15); R. Pichon, *Mommsen et la Mentalité Allemande* (ibid., October 15); J. Bourdeau, *Les Socialistes Allemands, l'Internationale, et la Guerre* (ibid., October 1); F. Farjanel, *Les Allemands en Extrême-Orient* (Revue de Paris, October 15); W. Fraknoi, *König Matthias Corvinus und der Deutsche Kaiserthron* (Ungarische Rundschau, IV. 1); F. Bac, *Quelques Souvenirs sur François-Joseph* (Revue de Paris, September 1); G. d'Acandia, *La Dominazione Austriaca in Polonia e il Dissidio Polacco-Ruteno* (Nuova Antologia, October 16).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Dutch archive service has reprinted the *Verlagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven* for 1865-1877. Dr. Heeringa has finished the manuscript of the Resolutions of the States of Zeeland, vol. I., 1574-1578. No. XXXVII. of the *Verlagen*, that for 1914, lately issued in two volumes (pp. 561, 512) contains a calendar, filling 200 pages, of documents from the archives of the abbey of St. Agatha at Kuik, 1367-1691; an inventory of the papers, recently acquired, of J. G. Verstolk van Soelen, minister of foreign affairs from 1825 to 1841; and an inventory of the documents of the minters of Dordrecht, 1291-1806, with a calendar of the earlier pieces. The progress of Dr. Colenbrander's *Gedenkstukken* for the period 1816-1840 has been held back by detention of the materials gathered by him in the archives of Petrograd. Vol. IV. of Huygens's correspondence is in the press, as also vol. I. (1576 and 1577) of the *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*.

An additional installment of the catalogue of sources for the military history of the Netherlands has been issued by General F. de Bas, director of the archives of the Dutch War Office.

In the *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n. s., XII. 2, Dr. A. Eekhof presents an account of the pastorate of Domine Henricus

Selyns at Waverveen in Utrecht, 1666-1682, during the interval between his two periods of pastoral service in New Netherland, together with an account of the ecclesiastical history of the parish, drawn from materials compiled by Selyns. The number also contains a score of miscellaneous documents relating to Gisbert Voetius.

The extent to which American political institutions are modelled on those of the Dutch is the theme of *Holland: an Historical Essay* by H. A. van C. Torchiana (San Francisco, Paul Elder).

Dr. A. Kalshoven's *De Diplomatieke Verhouding tusschen Engeland en de Republiek der Vereen. Nederlanden, 1747-1756* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. x, 268) traces the transition of Dutch diplomacy under Bentinck, from zeal for common action with England in accord with Newcastle's plan of alliance, through various turns of party fortunes in both countries, to the position of neutrality in which the Republic decided to remain during the approaching war of England and Prussia against France and Austria.

Professor Paul Delannoy, the librarian of the University of Louvain, delivered a series of lectures at the College of France in February last which have been published under the title *L'Université de Louvain* (Paris, Picard, 1915, pp. xx, 230). The glorious early days of the university are depicted as well as the recent misfortune which has overwhelmed it.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut Romanisée* (Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, XXVIII.; see also Camille Jullian in *Journal des Savants*, August).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

A. Ridderstad, *Östergötlands Historia från Äldsta indtill Nuvarande Tid* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1914, pp. ix, 607), and H. Schött, *Östergötlands Läns Hushållningssällskaps Historia* (Linköping, Sahlström, 1914, pp. xvi, 522) are two thorough studies in Swedish local history.

L. Finkel, H. Sawczynski, and E. T. Modelski have issued the section of their *Bibliografia Historyi Polskiéj* for the years 1901 to 1910 (Cracow, Gebethner, 1914, pp. 174). Among recent volumes on Poland are Ninian Hill, *Poland and the Polish Question: Impressions and Afterthoughts* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1915, pp. 340); G. Kurnatowski, *La Pologne Contemporaine* (Paris, Rivière, 1914); J. de Lipkowski, *La Question Polonaise et les Slaves de l'Europe Centrale* (Paris, "Polonia", 1915, pp. 164), which contains articles and documents relating to the present war; and Lord Eversley's *The Partitions of Poland* (New York, Dodd, pp. 328).

Poland, by Professor W. Alison Phillips, is one of the recent numbers of the *Home University Library*.

A new work on the *Origine ed Evoluzione Storica delle Nazioni Balcaniche* (Milan, Hoepli, 1915) is by Pernice. An anonymous volume on *The Near East from Within* (New York, Cassell, 1915, pp. viii, 256) is by a careful observer of persons and policies of recent years.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Hennig, *Zur Verkehrsgeschichte Ost- und Nordeuropas im 8. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 1); M. Rémusat, *Christine de Suède, Prétendante au Trône de Pologne* (Revue de Paris, October 15); G. H. Holmberg, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in Schweden* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, VI. 1); M. Hoschiller, *La Russie sur le Chemin de Byzance* (Revue de Paris, August 1, 16); T. Schiemann, *Die Geschichte der Ostseeprovinzen* (Süd-deutsche Monatshefte, July); C. Diehl, *Une Vie de Saint (Étienne d'Auxence) de l'Époque des Empereurs Iconoclastes* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, March); A. Sorbelli, *La Battaglia del Bosforo, Febbraio 1352* (Nuova Antologia, August 1); P. H. Mischef, *La Question des Détroits et la Russie d'après un Document Bulgare* (Revue Politique Internationale, May); A. Schopoff, *Les États Balkaniques et le Principe Confédératif* (Revue Hebdomadaire, August 21).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis has continued his studies on paper money by a small volume entitled *Certain Old Chinese Notes* (Boston, Goodspeed, pp. 63).

Volume II. of the *Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain in 1772-1776* has been translated and annotated by B. G. Corney and is published by the Hakluyt Society.

In an interesting little book based on family chronicles, *Shivaji the Maráthá: his Life and Times* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1915, pp. 125), Professor H. G. Rawlinson of Poona recounts the marvellous career of the hero (1627-1680) who founded the Mahratta state.

Colonel L. W. Shakspear has issued a *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burmah, and the Northeastern Frontier* (London, Macmillan, 1914).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient* (T'Oung Pao, December, 1914); W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, II. (*ibid.*, March).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington held in its office, in the latter part of November, a series of conferences on the problems connected with the cartographic representation of the disputes and settlements of boundary lines between the United States and its neighbors, especially Canada. Those participating, besides the director and Dr. Paullin, were Dr. Otto Tittmann, formerly superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Mr. J. E. McGrath of the present staff of that survey, Mr. James White of Ottawa, formerly geographer to the government of the Dominion of Canada, and Professor Jesse S. Reeves of the University of Michigan. Professor Faust's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* is in page-proof. Professor R. R. Hill's *Descriptive List of Papers relating to the History of the United States in the Archives of the Indies, Papeles de Cuba*, is in the printer's hands. Miss Donnan has begun the compilation of a volume of original materials illustrating the early history of the slave-trade. The Department has finished for the present its work of photography in the Papeles de Cuba at Seville, and now holds, for sale at cost price, ten sets of photographs of the regular series of despatches from the Spanish governors of Louisiana to the captain-general of Cuba, from the beginning in 1768 to the end of the year 1791 and the arrival of Carondelet—some 2400 pages in all.

The Superintendent of Documents has printed a new edition of his list of government publications in American history and biography for sale at his office (*Price List 50*, 5th edition, 48 pp.). Copies may be had gratis.

Among the recent accessions of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress are: minutes of proceedings of the commissioners of Georgetown, 1751-1789; record of by-laws and ordinances of Georgetown, 1791-1816; minutes of the levy court of Georgetown, 1836-1867; book of accounts of American officers, prisoners of the British, 1777-1778; the diary (in German) of Captain Friedrich Wilhelm von der Malsburg, of the Regiment Dittfurth, in America, 1776; General Beau-regard's note-book of the Mexican campaign, January to September, 1847; George Y. Bradley's diary of the first Powell expedition through the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1869; Charles Lever's journal of the voyage on the U. S. S. *Release* to rescue Dr. Kane, 1855; a body of papers of William L. Marcy; and sundry photographic reproductions of Mexican and Central American documents pertaining to the native languages and dialects.

In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1915, Mr. Howard M. Chapin presents a check-list of Rhode Island

almanacs; Dr. Charles L. Nichols a paper on Justus Fox (1736-1805), German printer in Philadelphia; Dr. Bernard C. Steiner an elaborate article on Connecticut's ratification of the Federal Constitution; and Mr. Clarence S. Brigham the third part (Maryland to Massachusetts, Boston) of his bibliography of American newspapers from 1690 to 1820. The society in a recent *Bulletin* announces an extraordinary increase in its newspaper collection, amounting for the past year to 492 bound volumes and 45,528 unbound issues. These include long files of Rhode Island newspapers and an unrivalled collection of Bolivian newspapers, 33,685 in number.

After a suspension of several years *The Genealogical Magazine* will again be published (26 Broad Street, Boston, Massachusetts), under the editorial charge of Mr. Eben Putnam, assisted by Messrs. John E. Bowman, G. Andrews Moriarty, Charles S. Remington, and Stephen P. Sharples. Excerpts and abstracts from original records, brief pedigrees of American, chiefly New England, families, and similar articles will make up the contents. Especial attention will be given to English sources likely to disclose the origin of American families; and some space will be devoted to notes and queries. The number just issued, designated as "New Series, Vol. III., Number 1", or "Whole Number 127", contains papers on the seal of the Prerogative Court of New England, 1689, on the merchant John Williams of Newport and his family, on the records of Melford, England, Morristown, Vermont, and Lyme, New Hampshire, and material relating to several families.

The *Thirtieth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (pp. 453) contains two extensive papers, one by Mrs. Matilda Cox Stevenson on the ethnobotany of the Zúñi Indians and one by Mr. Walter E. Roth on animism and folk-lore among the Indians of Guiana.

The *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla*, III. 12 and 13, contains continuations of Señor Serrano y Sanz's valuable article on Spain and the Cherokees and Choctaws in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the latter number has also a paper by Miss Irene A. Wright on the materials in the Archives of the Indies for the history of Cuba from 1508 to 1538.

The September *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains an extensive bibliography (72 pp.) of political parties in the United States. The *Bulletin* for November begins the printing, from the original manuscript in the Library, of the journal of Berlin and the Prussian court in 1798 kept by Thomas Boylston Adams while secretary of the United States legation at Berlin when his brother, John Quincy Adams, was minister to Prussia. The picture of conditions and events is distinctly interesting.

The most extended paper in the *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. VIII. (June, 1915), of the United States Catholic Historical Society is

the Sulpicians in the United States, by Dr. Charles G. Herbermann. Of especial interest is a paper concerning Dr. John McLoughlin, by Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J. The volume also includes translations of two letters of Father Adam Gilg, missionary in Mexico in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The letters are dated October 8, 1687, and February, 1692.

Of the *Index of Economic Material in the Documents of the States of the United States*, compiled by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse for the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution, the volume for New Jersey, 1789-1904, has been issued.

Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company have recently brought out a volume by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart entitled *The Monroe Doctrine: an Interpretation*.

Professor Raymond G. Taylor of the Kansas State Agricultural College has brought out, primarily for use in that institution, *Outlines of American Industrial History* (pp. 89). These *Outlines* have been constructed with a broad view, relating the industrial to the whole history of the American people. Lists of references accompany the several chapters.

Professors Homer C. Hockett and Arthur M. Schlesinger of the Ohio State University have brought out *A Syllabus of United States History* (pp. 119), based on Bassett's *Short History of the United States*. A classified list of references to other texts and readings accompanies each topical section.

The Neale Publishing Company has issued *The Political History of Slavery in the United States*, by James Z. George, with a foreword and a sketch of the author's life by W. H. Leavell, and with a preface by Professor John Bassett Moore. The work is in two books, the first of which gives title to the volume; the second book deals with the legislative history of Reconstruction.

The Macmillan Company have added to their series of *True Stories of Great Americans* the following volumes: *William Penn*, by R. S. Holland, *Benjamin Franklin*, by E. L. Dudley, *Davy Crockett*, by W. C. Sprague, *Christopher Columbus*, by Mildred Stapley, and *Thomas A. Edison*, by Francis Rolt-Wheeler.

In a new edition of his work, *The Story of the American Merchant Marine*, Mr. John R. Spears has added an introduction of about twenty pages reviewing the events of 1914-1915 in their bearing on merchant shipping (Macmillan).

The Macmillan Company has recently brought out a revised and rewritten edition of *A History of Currency in the United States*, by A. Barton Hepburn, based on his *The Contest for Sound Money* (1903).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Spirit of the American Revolution as revealed in the Poetry of the Period: a Study of American Patriotic Verse from 1760 to 1783, by S. W. Patterson, will probably interest students of American history quite as much as students of American literature (Boston, Badger).

Mr. Julius F. Sachse, librarian of the Masonic Temple in Philadelphia, has ready for publication *The Masonic Correspondence of George Washington* (Lancaster, New Era Press, pp. 144), being his correspondence with the Masonic authorities in various states.

In volume X. of this journal, pp. 816-817, an interesting letter of John Marshall, dated December 12, 1783, was published, from an original in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The letter, which bears no evidence as to the place where it was written, or as to the person to whom it was addressed, was stated in the *Review* to be a letter of Marshall to Thomas Jefferson and, in square brackets, was indicated to have been written from Williamsburg, Virginia. Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, who is now at work upon a life of Chief Justice Marshall, has brought to our attention facts which prove with certainty that the letter was addressed, not to Jefferson but to James Monroe, and was written at Richmond, not at Williamsburg.

In *The Political Science of John Adams* (Putnam) C. M. Walsh has essayed a critical study of the political philosophy of Adams as set forth in his formal writings, and in his correspondence.

Professor Charles A. Beard has brought out a second volume of his work *An Economic Interpretation of American History*. The volume is entitled *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (Macmillan).

Volume VI. of *The Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, has come from the press (Macmillan).

Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War, recently published by Putnam, is by W. E. Doster, who was provost-marshal of Washington in 1862-1863 and was one of the lawyers for the defense in the conspiracy trials of 1865.

The Constitutional Doctrines of Justice Harlan (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXIII., no. 4, pp. 208), by Floyd B. Clark, Ph.D., besides being a study of the judicial opinions of a single member of the Supreme Court, is in fact a study of dissenting opinions, for it is largely in his dissenting opinions that the constitutional doctrines of a justice can be traced. This survey of the court's decisions, through a period of more than thirty years, from the angle of dissent is at once interesting and useful. An introduction gives a sketch of Justice Harlan's career.

The Life and Letters of John Hay, by William R. Thayer, has now been issued in book form, in two volumes (Houghton Mifflin).

A volume of no small historical and political interest as well as religious, educational, journalistic, etc., is the *Reminiscences* of Lyman Abbott just issued by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Life of Clara Barton, by Rev. P. H. Epler, tells the story of Miss Barton's early life as well as of her career as a nurse in the Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the Spanish-American War. It is understood that the author has had the co-operation of friends and relatives of Miss Barton and has had access to unpublished letters and diaries and official documents (Macmillan).

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Vol. V., no. 3, of the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine* contains an article on the life of Cardinal Cheverus and one relating to the career of Father Râle, both of which are continued in nos. 4 and 5.

A History of Brookline, New Hampshire, by E. E. Parker, has been brought out by the Historical Committee of Brookline.

The October serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a memoir of Dr. William Everett, by Dr. James Schouler, written with insight and discrimination; a group of letters of John Smibert and his associates; and a striking letter, 1815, of Madame Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte.

Mr. James H. Stark's *Antique Views of Ye Towne of Boston* (first published in 1882) is now brought out in a new edition with much additional material. It now embraces reproductions of more than 170 old prints (Boston, George H. Ellis Co.).

In Chauncey E. Peck's *The History of Wilbraham, Massachusetts*, the historical account published in 1863 is brought down to date (Wilbraham, the town). The work was prepared in connection with the celebration, June 15, 1913, of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the town.

The *News Sheet* of the Rhode Island Historical Society for July-October, 1915, contains an important and interesting note on the cartography of Rhode Island.

Mr. Thomas W. Bicknell of Providence has published *The Story of Dr. John Clarke of Newport*, in which he essays to prove the primacy of the colony of Rhode Island (Aquidneck) in the founding of democracy and soul liberty.

Under the editorial conduct of Professors John S. Bassett and Sidney B. Fay, a new series, *Smith College Studies in History*, is inaugurated. The issues are to be brought out quarterly. The first is *An Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State*, by Grace Pierpont Fuller, a clear and intelligent account, relating chiefly to the transitional period 1815-1845.

The New York State Historical Association has now issued its volume of *Proceedings* of the fifteenth annual meeting, held at Oswego September 29 to October 2, 1913. Naturally many of the papers and addresses presented at the meeting concerned Oswego and its regional history. Among these are: Sir William Johnson and Pontiac, by James T. Clark; the Defenses of Oswego, by Major W. H. Bertsch; the Fur-Traders of Early Oswego, by F. W. Barnes; the Capture of Oswego in 1756, by W. L. Grant; Montcalm's Victory and its Lessons, by Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt; Lake Ontario in History, by Professor H. W. Elson; the Old Trail from the Mohawk to Oswego, by A. W. Skinner; and Wolfe Island, Past and Present, by R. M. Spankie. An historical address on Oswego delivered by G. T. Clark in 1896 is also included in the volume. Another group of papers concerns the Loyalists. These are: the Loyalist Migration Overland, by W. S. Wallace; Two Typical United Empire Loyalists and Founders of Canada (Richard Cartwright and Col. Joel Stone), by Miss Agnes M. Machar; and the Bay of Quinte Settlements, by C. M. Warner. Professor Moses Coit Tyler's paper, the Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution, is reprinted from the first volume of this journal. Two other papers require mention: the Cornbury Legend, by Professor C. W. Spencer, an investigation of the character and administration of Lord Cornbury, governor of New York and New Jersey, 1702-1708; and How the State and the Historical Association may be of Mutual Assistance, by James A. Holden, state historian.

The October number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains a brief article by G. A. Morrison, jr., concerning the commissary service in the Revolution, embodying a number of documents from the Hughes Manuscripts and the Gates Papers in possession of the New York Historical Society.

The Story of Old Fort Plain and the Middle Mohawk Valley, by Nelson Greene, has been brought out in Fort Plain, New York, by O'Connor Brothers.

George P. Humphrey, of Rochester, N. Y., has brought out a reprint (from the *Portfolio*, July to October, 1810) of *A Ride to Niagara in 1809*, by T. C., an account of a journey on horseback from Williamsport, Pennsylvania, to Niagara Falls and return.

Recent accessions to the manuscript collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are: seventy-one letters and documents added to the Greer collection, and 146 to the General A. A. Humphreys collection.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September contains a paper by H. F. Covington on the Discovery of Maryland, or Verrazano's Visit to the Eastern Shore; a continuation of the extracts from the Carroll Papers (pp. 40); and a journal kept by Uria Brown of a journey (1816) from Baltimore to Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, and through part of Maryland.

Volume 18 of the *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society (Washington, D. C., 1915, pp. 280) contains an account by Dr. William Tindall of Booth's escape from Washington after the assassination of Lincoln, his subsequent wanderings, and final capture; by the same writer, a sketch of Mayor Sayles J. Bowen; a summary of information respecting the title-deeds of the city of Washington, by Mr. H. C. Gauss; an address by Hon. W. P. Borland on the relation of the District of Columbia to the general government; an account of Old Homes of Georgetown Heights, by Mr. William A. Gordon; a valuable paper on Aspects of the Cabinet Meeting, by Dr. Henry B. Learned; an account of Dr. and Mrs. William Thornton, by Mr. Allen C. Clark, with the text of many letters; and a history of the Old Glass-House, by Mr. Robert H. Harkness, illustrated.

The history of the designing and erection of the Virginia State Capitol is related by Professor Fiske Kimball of the University of Michigan in *Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classical Revival in America*, a brochure of forty-eight pages, prepared with scholarly care and excellently illustrated. With the aid of Jefferson's correspondence with the Virginia commissioners of public buildings, now in the Library of Congress, of his accounts, now in the Virginia State Library, and of the original studies for the Capitol, preserved among the papers of the late T. Jefferson Coolidge, jr., Mr. Kimball seems to settle in favor of Jefferson all question as to the main responsibility for the design.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the October number a miscellaneous selection of letters, ranging in date from 1705 to 1829. They include four (1705, 1707, 1708) from Nathaniel Blakiston, agent in England for Virginia and Maryland, to Philip Ludwell, member of the Virginia council, one (1713) from William Bassett to Ludwell, chiefly concerning Bassett's candidacy for the council, and three (1769, 1771, 1775) from Jerman Baker, a distinguished lawyer of Virginia, to Thomas Adams in London. In Mr. David I. Bushnell, jr.'s studies of the Virginia Frontier in History appear some reports of the board of war to Congress, 1778, concerning the western Indians, one of which embodies a census of the tribes beyond the Ohio, prepared by William Wilson. A group of council papers, all of them communications to Governor Nicholson, 1702, includes a letter of November 4, 1702, from the Board of Trade to the governor concerning a variety of matters. Of especial interest, as describing the situation in Norfolk and agricultural conditions in Virginia in 1785, is a letter from John Joyce to Rev. Robert Dickson, March 24, 1785.

The October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Magazine* contains a brief discussion of Lincoln's course in regard to Fort Sumter, together with a reprint (from the *Richmond Daily Ex-*

aminer of August 8, 1861) of a letter from Governor Pickens of South Carolina, dated August 3, 1861; a group of documents concerning the alleged claim against the state of Virginia of Lady Virginia Murray, the daughter of Lord Dunmore, the last colonial governor of Virginia; and some Recommendations and Qualifications of Military and Civil Officers in Brunswick County, Virginia, March, 1777, to October, 1782.

An *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* in five volumes, edited by President Lyon Gardiner Tyler, is an output of the Lewis Publishing Company.

Historic Virginia Homes and Churches, by R. A. Lancaster, jr., from the press of Lippincott, is elaborately illustrated.

Mr. Conway W. Sams, who is preparing a series of volumes on the *Conquest of Virginia*, has issued the first volume, entitled *The Conquest of Virginia: the Forest Primeval*.

The Revolution in Virginia: the Tories and the Patriot Parties, by H. J. Eckenrode, is the outcome of extended research into local records (Houghton Mifflin Company).

North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840: a Documentary History (pp. lii, 846), by Charles L. Coon, is put forth by the North Carolina Historical Commission as one of its *Publications*. This volume is similar in character to the author's *Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina, 1790-1840*, brought out in 1908, and the material of this in large measure supplements that of the former work. In the introduction the author analyzes his material, pointing out the most significant facts and developments, as, for instance, the influence which the University of North Carolina (opened in 1795) has had upon education in the state, the physical equipment of the schools, the qualifications of teachers and their salaries, the courses of study, the methods of teaching, the character of the closing exercises, the current ideas of religious education, the beginnings of denominational colleges, etc. He calls attention to the effort about 1815 to establish Lancaster schools in the state, but he fails to explain, what a wayfaring man naturally wishes to know, what Lancaster schools actually were; and the documents do not clarify the mists very much. The documents are drawn from newspapers and other periodicals, in a preponderating measure, in fact, from two Raleigh newspapers, the *Register* and the *Star*. Greater uniformity in citing these papers would have been commendable. The material is assembled by counties alphabetically arranged. A separate section concerns the beginnings of colleges, and other sections embody educational essays, etc. In the collection of this material Mr. Coon has performed a very useful service to educational history.

The Autobiography of Asa Biggs, including a Journal of a Trip from North Carolina to New York in 1832 (pp. 51), edited by R. D. W. Con-

nor, is Bulletin no. 19 of the *Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission. In this brief sketch of his career as member of the North Carolina legislature, member of Congress (1845-1847), senator (1855-1858), United States district judge, Confederate district judge, etc., the autobiographer has left several bits of interesting record. That part of the *Journal* also which relates to his visit to Washington records some matters of interest.

Historical Papers, series XI., published by the Trinity College Historical Society, includes a reprint of the *Letters of Silvius*, a series of letters written by Dr. Hugh Williamson of North Carolina and published in the *American Museum* in the summer of 1787. Included also are two studies: the Manhood Suffrage Movement in North Carolina, by John W. Carr, jr., and Some Phases of Reconstruction in Wilmington and the County of New Hanover, by B. W. Ruark.

The first installment of an interesting paper, by L. R. Garrison, on the Administrative Problems of the Confederate Post-Office Department, appears in the October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Another article of interest is Early Presbyterianism in Texas as seen by Rev. James Weston Miller, D.D., from the pen of his son, Robert Finney Miller, M.D. The Alta California Supply Ships, 1773-1776, is an investigation by Dr. Charles E. Chapman. This number of the *Quarterly* contains also the concluding portion of W. W. Pierson, jr.'s study of the case of Texas *v.* White, and a continuation of the British Correspondence concerning Texas, edited by Professor E. D. Adams.

The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin inaugurates in the number of May 15 a department of Source Readings in Texas History. In the number mentioned are given some extracts (7 pp.) from *A Visit to Texas* (1836), describing the principal settlements in Austin's colony in 1831, and a letter (4 pp.) of David Woodman, jr., taken from *A Guide to Texas Emigrants* (1835). The readings are edited by Professor Eugene C. Barker.

The late Constantin Lionel Gruzevski, a Lithuanian nobleman, who for thirty years lived in poverty as a sign-painter in San Antonio, Texas, collected a noteworthy library of books relating to history, geography, military science, and folk-lore, of which a leading feature was a remarkable collection of books on the Peninsular War and on Wellington, said to be the finest in America. This library has lately been acquired by the Scientific Society of San Antonio and will be kept as a memorial to the man.

The University of California Press has just published a new volume by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, based almost entirely on unpublished manuscript sources, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (pp. 458).

The September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains articles by Professor Herbert E. Bolton on the Location of

La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico, by Professor William S. Robertson on the First Legations of the United States in Latin America, and by Miss Susan M. Reed on British Cartography of the Mississippi Valley in the Eighteenth Century, and a survey of recent historical activities in Canada by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee. The diary of a journey of Samuel Montgomery, who in 1785 went out through the Indian country, beyond the Ohio, to make a treaty with the Shawnees, is also printed in this number.

At a conference of directors of historical work in the Northwest, held in Chicago October 23, 1915, it was determined to have a calendar made of the documents in the State Department at Washington which relate to any of the co-operating states, and Dr. N. D. Mereness was engaged to make the calendar. It is presumed that the work will require about five months, and when completed the calendar will be sent to each of the co-operating states (Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois) to be copied or used in making selections of documents to be transcribed.

The Tories of the Upper Ohio, by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, is from the *Biennial Report* (1911-1914) of the Department of Archives and History of West Virginia.

The April-July issue (double number) of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains the Journal of Francis Collins, an artillery officer in the Mexican War. The journal proper begins January 29, 1847, when the writer, who was then a second lieutenant, was at Tampico, Mexico, and ends August 19, 1848, a few days after his landing at Old Point Comfort. Some earlier facts are recorded, by way of introduction, by Lieutenant Collins himself. These experiences and contemporary observations of an intelligent officer form an interesting bit of material upon the Mexican War. They are edited by his niece, Maria Clinton Collins.

The July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is entirely occupied with a monograph on the History of Banking and Currency in Ohio before the Civil War (pp. 305), by C. C. Huntington. The author has gathered much material, and has related it to general economic conditions and to the course of economic and financial events in the country at large.

Tract No. 95 of the Western Reserve Historical Society includes, as part I., the *Annual Report for 1914-1915* and, as part II., *Letters from the Samuel Huntington Correspondence, 1800-1812*. Huntington came to Ohio from Connecticut in 1801, became chief justice in 1804 and governor in 1808. In fact, during most of the period of this correspondence he was in public office. Of the 53 letters here printed 48 were written to Huntington, five by him. His correspondents were prin-

cipally such men as Moses Cleaveland, Arthur St. Clair, Gideon Grainger, Jeremiah Morrow, Edward Tiffin, Stanley Griswold, and Thomas Worthington. A frequent correspondent from Connecticut was Elisha Tracy, whose letters touch upon Connecticut politics. Subjoined are four letters from the correspondence of George Tod, one of which, from D. L. Tod, August 15, 1809, describes conditions in the territory of Orleans; another, from William Creighton, June 2, 1811, touches upon Tammany Societies in Ohio; and still another embodies a hitherto unpublished letter of Thomas Jefferson, February, 1821.

The plans of the Indiana Historical Commission for the Centennial Celebration in 1916 include exercises on May 13 at Corydon, the original seat of government, where the first constitutional convention met. A more elaborate celebration, which will include a state pageant, will take place in Indianapolis during the first half of October.

The contents of the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* include An English Colony in Floyd County, by John Poucher, Vevay and Switzerland County, by Julia L. Knox, Indiana Methodism, 1816-1832, by Ruth Price, and the Era of the Tassements or Stockaded Trading Camps, by Hubert M. Skinner.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1913 (*Publication* no. 19 of the Illinois State Historical Library) includes papers read at the annual meeting and other papers. Among these are: Benjamin Lundy, a Pioneer of Freedom, the annual address before the society, by George A. Lawrence; the Disciples of Christ in Illinois and their Attitude toward Slavery, by Rev. N. S. Haynes; the History of Presbyterianism in Illinois, by H. D. Jenkins; Stephen A. Douglas the Expansionist, by F. E. Stevens; and the Tragedy of Starved Rock, by W. A. Jones.

In the January number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* Mr. Jesse W. Weik, using the title An Unpublished Chapter in the Early History of Chicago, relates the story of James M. Bucklin (1802-1890), chief engineer of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. Credit Island, 1814-1914, is the title of an historical address delivered on the island by William A. Meese at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle. There is a paper by C. M. Thompson on Elections and Election Machinery in Illinois, 1818-1848, one by W. E. Stevens, on the Shaw-Hansen Election Contest, 1822-1823, an episode of the slavery contest in Illinois, and a brief discourse concerning the County Records of Illinois, by T. C. Pease. A prodigious index (pp. 136) to vol. VII. of the *Journal* (April, 1914, to January, 1915) is included in this number. In the April number appears an address by President E. J. James on the Life and Labors of Jonathan B. Turner, credited with being the real originator of the Morrill Land Grant Act. Rev. John H. Ryan writes a Chapter from the History of the Under-

ground Railroad in Illinois, and also concerning an Old Time Postal Distribution in Illinois. Historical Sketches of Part of the Wabash Valley is an address delivered in 1878 by H. W. Beckwith. Mr. John R. Rowland contributes a biographical sketch and appreciation of William T. Davidson (1837-1915), long editor of the *Fulton Democrat* of Lewistown, Illinois.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for September contains a valuable article by Miss Mary Scrugham on George D. Prentice, and another by Mr. A. C. Quisenberry on "Heads of Families" in Franklin County in the Census of 1810.

Mr. Otto A. Rothert has "printed as manuscript" (Louisville, press of John P. Morton and Company, 1915) an interesting paper on *Local History in Kentucky Literature*, in which he gives an account of Kentucky biographies, autobiographies, and stories of travel, and of such poems, novels, and short stories as have found their material in the local life of the state.

The September number* of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains a brief though useful piece of historical exposition, the True Route of the Natchez Trace: the Rectification of a Topographical Error, by Park Marshall. Mr. John H. DeWitt's paper on General James Winchester, with selected letters from the Winchester Papers, is concluded. Much the most interesting and valuable item in this number of the *Magazine* is, however, a group of letters from James K. Polk to Cave Johnson, 1833-1848. These letters constitute the greater part of a collection inherited by the descendants of Cave Johnson and now in the possession of Judge C. W. Tyler of Clarksville, Tennessee. Of the forty-six letters here printed, those written in 1844 (23 in number) possess the largest interest, inasmuch as their central theme is the campaign for the presidency. Another group, those of 1835, concern the break between Andrew Jackson and Hugh L. White and the beginnings of the Whig party in Tennessee. The letters are well edited, with extended introductory notes, by the editor of the *Magazine*, Professor St. George L. Sioussat.

The Burton Historical Library has come into possession of the diaries kept by the late Justice Henry B. Brown of the United States Supreme Court, beginning in 1856. During most of the earlier part of this period Mr. Brown was a resident of Detroit, and the diaries of those years possess an especial interest for that city, as the later period has for the city of Washington. A collection of photostat copies, some four thousand in number, of papers in the War Department, the Senate and House archives, and the Department of State, pertaining to the formation of the territory of Michigan, the War of 1812, etc., is being added to the library. The library has also come into possession of a collection of papers from the library of the late Peter White, containing interesting items of Michigan history.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin is doing a notable service in publishing detailed calendars of the Draper Manuscripts. The first volume to appear is *The Preston and Virginia Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts* (pp. 357), calendared by Miss Mabel C. Weeks. These two series are about equal in extent, and both of them relate primarily to Virginia and its border history. The Preston Papers extend from about 1730 to 1791, the Virginia Manuscripts from about 1750 to 1891. The calendar is constructed upon an approved method and typographically so presented as to facilitate use.

The *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its sixty-second annual meeting (October 22, 1914) has come from the press. As usual the volume contains a number of historical papers. The most notable of these is the Treaty of Ghent, and After, by Dr. Worthington C. Ford. Papers of local interest are: the Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin, by J. H. A. Lacher; the Labor Movement in Wisconsin during the Civil War, by Frederick Merk; and a Semi-Historical Account of the War of the Winnebagoes and the Foxes, by Paul Radin. A document of especial interest is Henry Hay's Journal from Detroit to the Miami River, edited with introduction and notes by M. M. Quaife. The journal, which begins December 9, 1789, and ends abruptly April 3, 1790, casts some light on the fur-trade of the region at the time and is particularly interesting for its picture of life at the French and Indian trading post, Miamitown, the present Fort Wayne. The volume of *Proceedings* for 1915 is now in press, and a volume on the industrial history of Wisconsin during the Civil War period, by Frederick Merk, and an additional volume of the calendar series pertaining to the Revolution in the West, by Miss Louise P. Kellogg, are expected to be ready for the printer early in the year. The society has issued a *Bulletin of Information* (no. 77) descriptive of the collections on labor and socialism in the library and will shortly issue a bulletin of information descriptive of the Strong and Woodman manuscript collections. The society has arranged to make photostatic copies of the records of the American Fur Company still to be found at Mackinac. Important among the manuscript accessions of the past year is a large body of the papers of the late Judge E. W. Keyes, whose prominence in the political life of the state gives to his papers unusual value. They extend from 1847 over a period of sixty years. Another accession of some interest is a collection of letters of members of the Continental Congress, officers of the Revolution and of the War of 1812, etc., the gift of Mr. Simon Gratz of Philadelphia.

Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, missionary at Mackinac, Green Bay, and Galena, and in the surrounding regions, from 1830 to 1864, published his memoirs in Italian at Milan in 1844. A member of the Dominican sisterhood at Sinsinawa, founded by him, has now trans-

lated the book into English and it has been published under the title *Memoirs, Historical and Edifying, of a Missionary Apostolic of the Order of Preachers among Tribes of Savages and among Catholics and Protestants in the United States of America*. The book has particular value with respect to early conditions in Wisconsin.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin*, vol. I., no. 3 (August), contains an account, by Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, of the Recent Activities of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and prints a selection of letters from the papers of William P. Murray, which recently came into the Minnesota society's possession, a group of about 200 letters and other documents dating from 1842 to 1911. Among the letters printed is one from Charles K. Smith to Thomas Corwin, September 1, 1849, advocating a military academy in the northwest.

In the contents of vol. IV., no. 1, of *Acta et Dicta*, published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, the main historical item is a history of that diocese by the Reverend Dr. Francis J. Schaefer. There is also much material respecting the history of the cathedral of St. Paul, apropos of the dedication of the new cathedral. By the last will of Monsignor A. Oster the society has come into the possession of several thousand dollars with which to carry on its work.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a History of Presbyterianism in Iowa City (pp. 52), a paper read at the celebration (September 26, 1915) of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Iowa City, by Mr. Jacob Van der Zee. Mr. F. E. Horack presents in the same number an analytical discussion of the legislation of the thirty-sixth general assembly of Iowa (January to April, 1915).

The State Historical Society of Iowa has in press a volume on *Third Party Movements since the Civil War*, by F. E. Haynes.

The principal article in the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* is by Floyd C. Shoemaker, entitled the Fathers of the State: Personnel of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820, being chapter V. of the author's work *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*. A list of historical articles in Missouri newspapers, June, July, and August, 1915, is included in this number.

The Aftermath of the Civil War in Arkansas (Neale), by Powell Clayton, governor of Arkansas from 1868 to 1871, is an effort "to clear the political atmosphere of perversions made by the slave-holding régime, upon the one hand, and by the factions in the Republican party on the other".

Local and Nebraska History in Nebraska Public Schools (Nebraska History and Political Science series, Bulletin no. 8), by C. R. Anderson

of the State Normal School, Kearney, is a brief discussion of the methods of teaching local and state history.

A contribution of some interest to the study of American folk-lore is *Folk-Song of Nebraska and the Central West: a Syllabus* (Nebraska Academy of Sciences Publications, vol. IX., no. 3, pp. 89), by Louise Pound, Ph.D. The songs are grouped in 32 classes, usually a stanza is given, and a considerable number of songs are printed in full. The compiler states that the title "Folk-Song of Nebraska" was discarded for the more comprehensive title; and it must still be said that such a title is misleading if understood in any other sense than that the songs have been current in Nebraska and the central West, for very few of them are peculiar to that region.

The Outing Publishing Company has included in the *Outing Adventure Library* Major J. W. Powell's *First through the Grand Canyon: being the Record of the Pioneer Exploration of the Colorado River in 1869-1870*, edited by Horace Kephart. The book was first published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1875.

A *History of Arizona*, in two volumes, by T. E. Farish, has been published in Phoenix by the state.

An addition to *Heartman's Historical Series* is Jonathan S. Green's *Journal of a Tour on the Northwest Coast of America in the Year 1829* (New York, C. F. Heartman Company).

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* for October contains the Story of the Mercer Expeditions, two migrations, principally of women, conducted by Asa S. Mercer from the eastern seaboard to Washington in 1864 and 1866. The story is written by Flora A. P. Engle, who, as a girl of fifteen, accompanied the second expedition. W. B. Seymore writes in this number concerning Pioneer Hotel Keepers of Puget Sound, Hiram F. White concerning the Mormon Road, and J. M. Canse has a paper entitled Jason Lee: New Evidence on the Missionary and Colonizer. The *Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House*, edited by Clarence B. Bagley, is continued. A complete photostatic transcript of this journal has been secured by the State University.

The Washington State Historical Society (Tacoma) has issued vol. II. of its *Proceedings*, covering the years 1907-1915.

The June number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, designated "The Open Rivers number", is occupied with papers prepared for the celebration of the opening of the Dalles-Celilo canal, May 5, 1915, and the opening of the Oregon City locks and canal May 6. The paper of chief historical importance is the *Dalles-Celilo Portage: its History and Influence*, by T. C. Elliott. Of interest also is the paper of H. L. Talkington, the *Story of the River: its Place in Northwest History*.

In the *Philippine Journal of Science* for November, 1915, Dr. James A. Robertson has an interesting article on the "Igorots of Lepanto", which contains a multitude of depositions by representatives of various townships and barrios, as to native customs and historical traditions.

The *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada* bearing date of March, 1915 (série III., vol. VIII., section 1), contains two articles of historical interest. The one, entitled *Deux Oubliés de l'Histoire*, recounts the career of Jean-Baptiste Bruce, a member of the expedition of Richardson and Rae in search of Sir John Franklin, and that of Jean-Louis Légaré, an Indian trader who also achieved something in Indian diplomacy; the other, entitled *Les Indiens du Canada depuis la Découverte*, is by C. M. Barbeau. The English section, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (section 2 of the same volume), includes the following: the Loyalist Settlements on the Gaspé Peninsula, and the Temporary Settlements of Loyalists at Machiche, P. Q., two articles by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, and the First Governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the River Saint John, by Archdeacon Raymond. A separate from vol. IX., section 2, of the *Transactions*, which has also come to hand, is the Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula (pp. 50), by Professor Siebert.

The Canadian Iron and Steel Industry: a Study in the Economic History of a Protected Industry, by W. J. A. Donald, is a Hart, Schaffner, and Marx prize essay (Houghton Mifflin).

Dodd, Mead, and Company have brought out *Bernal Diaz del Castillo: being some Account of him taken from his True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, by R. B. Cunninghame Graham.

The Lopez Expedition to Cuba, 1848-1851, by R. G. Caldwell, is issued by the Princeton University Press.

The Construction of the Panama Canal, by Brigadier-General W. L. Sibert and J. F. Stevens, possesses an authoritative character, as Mr. Stevens was for a time chief engineer and Brigadier-General Sibert was in charge of an important part of the construction. The book is intended for the general reader (Appleton).

Mr. Peter H. Goldsmith, director of the Pan-American division of the American Association for International Conciliation, brings out *A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish, and Portuguese relating to the Republics commonly called Latin American, with Comments* (Macmillan, pp. xix, 107), excellently conceived, and likely to be useful to many historical students.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. B. Hart, *American Historical Liars* (Harper's Monthly, October); C. H. Sherrill, *American Country Life in Old French Memoirs* (Yale Review, October); C. W. Spencer, *Sectional Aspects of New York Provincial Politics* (Political Science

Quarterly, September); Basil Williams, *Charles Fox and the American Revolution* (Quarterly Review, October); F. I. Schechter, *The Early History of the Tradition of the Constitution* (American Political Science Review, November); Helen Nicolay, *Our Nation in the Building*, I. (Century Magazine, December); J. B. Moore, *Henry Clay and Pan-Americanism* (Columbia University Quarterly, September); L. N. Feipel, *The United States Navy in Mexico, 1821-1914*, cont. (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, September-October); J. F. Rhodes, *Lincoln in some Phases of the Civil War* (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, September); J. B. Moore, *A Great Secretary of State: William L. Marcy* (Political Science Quarterly, September); Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861*, cont. (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Gamaliel Bradford, *Union Portraits*, VI., *William H. Seward* (Atlantic Monthly, September); A. W. H. Eaton, *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, III. (Americana, September); George Bryce, *The Real Strathcona*, IV., V., VI. (Canadian Magazine, October, November, December).

LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY NOW IN PROGRESS AT THE CHIEF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, DECEMBER, 1915

[In 1897 the compiler of this list began the practice of collecting, from professors of American history having charge of candidates for the doctor's degree, lists of the subjects of their dissertations. These were then circulated among the professors, in typewritten form, to avoid duplication and for other purposes. Subsequently the list was enlarged to include all subjects, and not solely the American. In 1902 the practice began of printing the lists. That for December, 1909, was accompanied by a list of those historical dissertations which had been printed. The list for December, 1912, was printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for January, 1913; those for December, 1913 and 1914, in this journal (XIX. 450-465, XX. 484-502). Henceforward, it may be expected that such lists will appear annually in the January number of this journal. Copies of the printed lists for the years 1910, 1911, and 1914 can still be supplied by the compiler, J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.]

GENERAL

- E. P. Smith, A.B. Goucher 1904; A.M. Columbia 1909. History of the Opposition to the Theory of Evolution. *Columbia*.
R. R. Powell, A.B. Rochester 1911. The Development in Roman and English Law of Remedies against Fraud. *Columbia*.
A. C. Norton, S.B. Temple 1909; A.M. Pennsylvania 1915. Historical Study of the Separation of Powers. *Harvard*.

ANCIENT HISTORY

- S. G. Dunseath, A.B. Ursinus 1910; A.M. Columbia 1911. An Economic Interpretation of Hebrew History from the Egyptian Bondage to the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. *Columbia*.
Carl Huth, A.B. Wisconsin 1904, A.M. 1905. Rights and Customs of Sanctuary in Ancient Greece and Rome. *Columbia*.
W. E. Caldwell, A.B. Cornell 1910. Development of the Ideas of War and Peace among the Ancient Greeks. *Columbia*.
E. J. Jennings, A.B. St. Stephens 1912. Some Aspects of Greek Society in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries. *Columbia*.
E. C. Hunsdon, A.B. Barnard 1908. Epigraphic Studies in the History of the Delphic Amphictyony. *Columbia*.
R. V. Cram, A.B. Harvard 1907, A.M. 1908. Studies in the History of Attic Demes. *Harvard*.
H. G. Teel, A.B. Dickinson 1911, A.M. 1912. Athenian Social Conditions represented in the Orations of Lysias. *Columbia*.
C. W. Blegen, A.B. Minnesota 1907; A.B. Yale 1908. Studies in the History of Ancient Corinth. *Yale*.
A. D. Muir, A.B. McGill 1912. Ptolemy Philadelphus. *Harvard*.

(421)

- S. P. R. Chadwick, A.B. Harvard 1892, A.M. 1899. The Conditions of Italian Colonization during the Government of the Roman Senate. *Harvard*.
- R. N. Blews, A.B. Greenville 1904. The Lex Julia Municipalis. *Cornell*.
- L. A. Lawson, A.B. Upsala 1909; A.M. Columbia 1911. Social Conditions in the Principate of Augustus. *Columbia*.
- E. D. Pierce, A.B. Vassar 1910, A.M. 1912. Asinius Pollio. *Columbia*.
- M. F. Lawton, A.B. Columbia 1904, A.M. 1912. Philanthropy in Rome and Italy under the Early Roman Empire. *Columbia*.
- D. McFayden, A.B. Toronto 1896. Studies in the Reign of Domitian. *Chicago*.
- Margaret Bancroft, A.B. Wellesley 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Popular Assemblies in the Municipalities of Spain and Gaul. *Columbia*.
- Maud Hamilton, A.B. Cornell 1902. The Sources of Metal and Ore Supplies in the Roman Empire. *Wisconsin*.
- R. P. Blake, A.B. California 1908; A.M. Harvard 1909. Imperial Legislation on Religious Matters during the Later Roman Empire. *Harvard*.
- J. M. Dadson, A.B. McMaster 1906, A.M. 1909, Th.B. 1909. Persistence of Paganism in the Roman Empire. *Chicago*.

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

- J. R. Knipfing, A.B. Cornell 1910. The Roman State and Christianity. *Columbia*.
- Joseph Swain, A.B. Columbia 1912; A.M. Harvard 1913. Early Christian Criticism. *Columbia*.
- C. H. Lyttle, A.B. Western Reserve 1907, A.M. 1908; S.T.B. Meadville 1910; S.T.M. Harvard 1913. Bar-Daisan of Edessa: his Influence upon the Doctrines of Mani the Persian. *Harvard*.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

- T. P. Oakley, A.B. Cornell 1909. The Penitentials. *Columbia*.
- E. Joranson, A.B. Augustana 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1914. The Monastic Ideal of Service in the Twelfth Century. *Chicago*.
- Norman Winestine, A.B. Yale 1914. The Attitude of the Papacy toward the Jews to 1216. *Pennsylvania*.
- R. H. George, A.B. Amherst 1911; A.M. Harvard 1913. The Relations of England and Flanders, 1066-1215. *Harvard*.
- Elizabeth Rogers, A.B. Goucher 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System. *Columbia*.
- H. H. Maurer, A.B. Wisconsin 1907, A.M. 1909; Ph.D. Chicago 1914. Feudal Procedure in the Courts of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. *Chicago*.

- A. C. Krey, A.B. Wisconsin 1907, A.M. 1908. The Latin Patriarchate in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. *Wisconsin*.
- T. C. Van Cleve, A.B. Missouri 1911, A.M. 1912. John Holywood's Sphaera. *Wisconsin*.
- G. B. Hatfield, A.B. Oberlin 1908, S.T.B. 1908; S.T.M. Harvard 1914. The Influence of the Nominalistic Philosophy upon the Reformation Doctrine of the Church, with especial reference to the Period following the Council of Basel. *Harvard*.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

- A. P. Evans, A.B. Cornell 1911. Religious Tolerance in the Age of the Reformation (1516-1530). *Cornell*.
- N. A. Olsen, A.B. Luther 1907; A.M. Wisconsin 1909; A.M. Harvard 1914. Trade Relations between England and the Scandinavian Countries from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century. *Harvard*.
- C. L. Grose, A.B. Findlay 1910; A.M. Harvard 1914. Anglo-French Relations, 1672-1685. *Harvard*.
- F. A. Middlebush, A.B., A.M. Michigan 1914. The Diplomatic Relations between England and Holland, 1678-1688. *Michigan*.
- J. H. Robinson, A.B. Hamline 1908; A.M. Columbia 1911; D.B. Union Theological Seminary 1911. Peter Bayle's Thoughts on the Great Comet of 1680. *Columbia*.
- Frances Marion Fay, A.B. Radcliffe 1912, A.M. 1913. Trade Policy of England and France from 1689 to 1715. *Radcliffe*.
- H. E. Barnes, A.B. Syracuse 1913, A.M. 1914. The Place of Montesquieu and Hume in the History of Sociological Theory. *Columbia*.
- Anne E. Burlingame, A.B. Syracuse 1900; A.M. Columbia 1910. The Anti-Slavery Movement in England and France in the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- J. V. Fuller, A.B. 1914. The Armed Neutrality. *Harvard*.
- Margaret W. Piersol, A.B. Vassar 1912; A.M. Pennsylvania 1914. England and France in the Mediterranean during the Continental System. *Pennsylvania*.
- W. W. Eddy, A.B. Princeton 1911; A.M. Harvard 1914. The Maronites and the French Protectorate in Syria in the Nineteenth Century. *Harvard*.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- J. L. Miner, A.B. Allegheny 1909. The Classical Ideal in England. *Columbia*.
- A. J. Meyer, A.B. Rutgers 1900; A.M. New Brunswick Theological Seminary 1904. A History of the Observance of the Lord's Day, with special reference to Great Britain. *Columbia*.
- G. D. Hoxey, A.B. Hobart 1904; A.M. Columbia 1910. History of the Historiography of the Church of England, to the death of Queen Anne. *Columbia*.

- W. O. Ault, A.B. Baker 1907; B.A. Oxford 1910. The Private Court in England. *Yale*.
- J. E. Miller, A.B. Kansas 1910; A. M. Illinois 1913. Benefit of Clergy in England. *Illinois*.
- James Kenny, A.B. Toronto 1907; A. M. Wisconsin 1908. An Introduction to the Sources for the Early History of Ireland. *Columbia*.
- A. H. Sweet, A.B. Bowdoin 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. The Ecclesiastical Relations of the English Benedictines. *Cornell*.
- J. L. Moore, A.B. Harvard 1914, A.M. 1915. The Lawmen and the Justicia. *Harvard*.
- E. S. Morris, A.B. Cornell 1914. The Royal Taxation of the Clergy in England. *Cornell*.
- C. W. New, A.B. Toronto 1903; Th.B. McMaster 1906, B.D. 1907; Ph.D. Chicago 1913. History of the Alien Priories in England to the Confiscation of Henry V. *Chicago*.
- C. W. David, B.A. Oxford 1911; A.M. Wisconsin 1912. Robert Curthose. *Harvard*.
- H. H. Holt, B.A. Oxford 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1909. The Cost of Living in England, 1172-1183. *Wisconsin*.
- H. A. Kellar, A.B. Chicago 1909. King John: the Interdict and Exchequer. *Wisconsin*.
- Lyman Howes, A.B. Leland Stanford 1906; A.M. Columbia 1911. Educational Theories and Educational Influence of Roger Bacon. *Columbia*.
- Carl Wittke, A.B. Ohio State 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. The History of Parliamentary Privilege in England. *Harvard*.
- Frederic Schenck, A.B. Harvard 1909; Litt.B. Oxford 1912; A.M. Harvard 1914. The Merchants of London in the Reign of Edward I. *Harvard*.
- P. G. Mode, A.B. McMaster 1897, A.M. 1898, Th.B. 1899; Ph.D. Chicago 1914. The Influence of the Black Death on the Church in England. *Chicago*.
- R. A. Newhall, A.B. Minnesota 1910, A.M. 1911; A.M. Harvard 1914. The English in Normandy, 1417-1422. *Harvard*.
- F. C. Dietz, A.B. Pennsylvania 1909; A.M. Harvard 1912. English Finances under the Tudors. *Harvard*.
- Harriett Bradley, A.B. Vassar 1913. Agrarian Problems of the Sixteenth Century in England. *Columbia*.
- Elizabeth F. Jackson, A.B. Wellesley 1913; A.M. Pennsylvania 1914. The Lord Lieutenant of the English County in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. *Pennsylvania*.
- Susan M. Lough, Ph.B. Chicago 1907, Ph.M. 1909. Administration of Ireland in the Time of Elizabeth. *Chicago*.
- A. J. Klein, A.B. Wabash 1906; D.B. Union Theological Seminary 1909; A.M. Columbia 1909. The Sources for Tolerance in England during the Reign of James I. *Columbia*.

- F. R. Flourney, A.B. Washington and Lee 1905; A.M. Columbia 1912. The Extent of Parliamentary Control of Foreign Policy in Great Britain. *Columbia*.
- J. E. Gillespie, A.B. Cornell 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700. *Columbia*.
- Mabelle Louise Moses, A.B. Leland Stanford 1899; A.M. Radcliffe 1908. The Economic Policy of Charles I. and the Commonwealth. *Radcliffe*.
- Frances H. Relf, A.B. Minnesota 1911, A.M. 1912. Imprisonment in the Petition of Right. *Minnesota*.
- Ruth E. Marshall, A.B. Minnesota 1913, A.M. 1914. John Pym: a Study in Political Biography. *Minnesota*.
- H. M. Wriston, A.B. Wesleyan 1911, A.M. 1912. The English Monarchomachs. *Harvard*.
- T. C. Pease, Ph.B. Chicago 1907, Ph.D. 1914. John Lilburn and the Levellers. *Chicago*.
- A. C. Dudley, Princeton Theological Seminary 1907. The Clarendon Code in England, 1660-1689. *Johns Hopkins*.
- P. C. Galpin, A.B. Yale 1910, A.M. 1912. The Rise of Political Non-conformity in England after 1660. *Yale*.
- G. F. Zook, A.B. Kansas 1906, A.M. 1907. The Royal African Company, 1662-1715. *Cornell*.
- W. T. Morgan, A.B. Ohio 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. The Whig Party, 1700-1720. *Yale*.
- Alden Anderson, A.B. Bethany 1910. British Trade in the Baltic in the Eighteenth Century. *Yale*.
- Judith B. Williams, A.B. Vassar 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. An Introduction to the Literature and Sources for the English Industrial Revolution. *Columbia*.
- Witt Bowden, A.B. Colorado 1914. Contemporary Opinions in England concerning the Industrial Revolution. *Pennsylvania*.
- R. L. Tucker, A.B. Wesleyan 1913; A.M. Columbia 1915. Literary Conflicts in Methodism during the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- N. Macdonald, A.B. Queen's (Kingston, Canada) 1913. Henry Dundas, first Lord Melville (1742-1811). *Cornell*.
- J. A. Woolf, Ph.B. Chicago 1912. Political Theory of Jeremy Bentham. *Chicago*.
- Anna L. Lingelbach, A.B. Indiana 1895, A.M. 1896. The English Navigation System from 1783 to 1803. *Pennsylvania*.
- W. F. Galpin, A.B. Northwestern 1913, A.M. 1914. The Grain Trade of England during the Napoleonic Wars. *Pennsylvania*.
- P. L. White, A.B. Bowdoin 1914. England's Orders in Council during the Napoleonic Wars and Now. *Pennsylvania*.
- Isabel Simeral, Ph.B. Chicago 1905; A.M. Columbia 1911. Reform and

Reform Movements on behalf of Children during the Early Nineteenth Century in England. *Columbia*.

R. W. Sockman, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan 1911; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Revival of Monasticism in England in the Nineteenth Century. *Columbia*.

F. F. Rosenblatt, A.B. Columbia 1907, A.M. 1908. History of the Chartist Movement. *Columbia*.

Harold U. Faulkner, A.B. Wesleyan 1913; A.M. Columbia 1915. The Chartist Movement and the Church. *Columbia*.

P. L. Slosson, S.B. Columbia 1912, A.M. 1914. The Last Phases of Chartism. *Columbia*.

J. H. Park, A.B. Columbia 1912, A.M. 1913. The English Reform Bills of 1866-1867. *Columbia*.

M. W. Smith, A.B. Ursinus; A.M. Columbia 1915. Radicalism in the British Tory Party in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century. *Columbia*.

FRANCE

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- A. H. Buffinton, A.B. Williams 1907; A.M. Harvard 1909. *The Attitude of the Northern Colonies towards the Dutch and French, with special reference to the subject of Expansion. Harvard.*
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- W. W. Kemp, A.B. Leland Stanford 1898. *Educational Work in the American Colonies of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1783. Columbia.*
- Louise F. Perring, S.B. Temple 1909; A.M. Pennsylvania 1912. *The Policy of Imperial Defense in the Southern Colonies during the French and Indian War. Pennsylvania.*
- J. A. Hofto, A.B. North Dakota 1913, A.M. 1914. *Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Illinois.*
- L. H. Gipson, A.B. Idaho 1903; B.A. Oxford 1907. *Jared Ingersoll. Chicago.*
- A. H. Basye, A.B. Kansas 1904, A.M. 1906. *The Office of Secretary of State for America. Yale.*
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MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

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